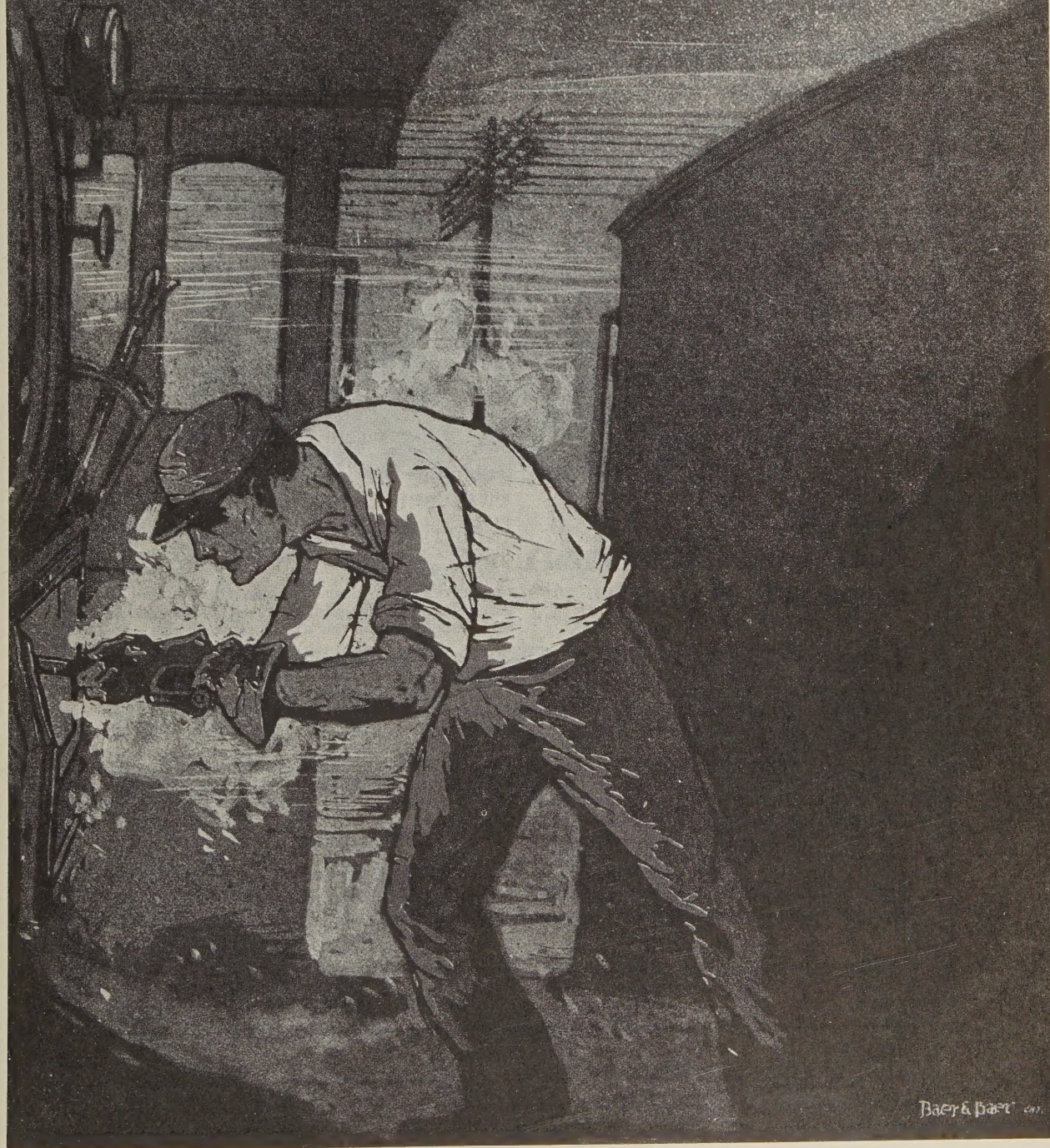


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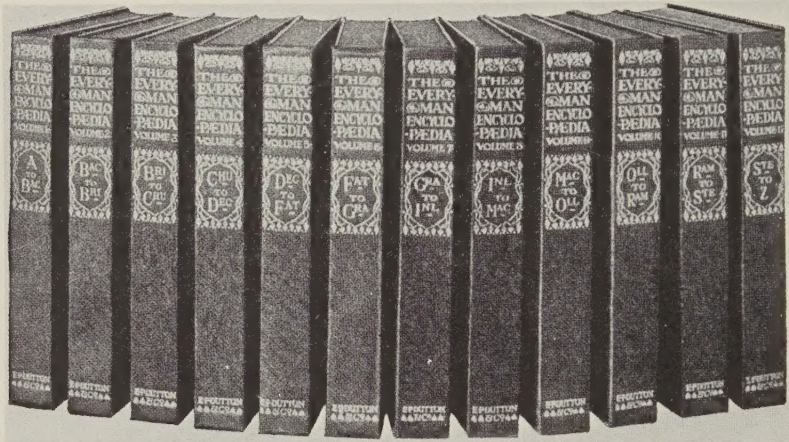
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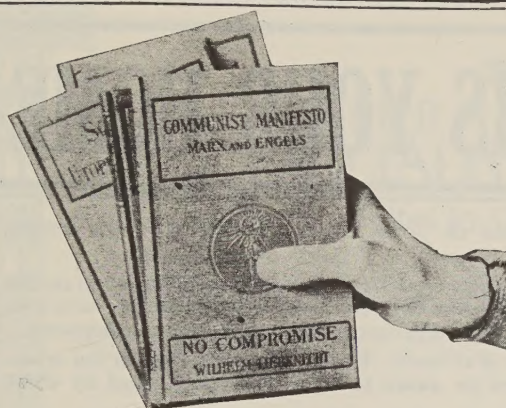
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The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. XIV

APRIL, 1914

No. 10

LABOR'S BATTLE IN SOUTH AFRICA

South African Railway Nationalization and the Labor Movement

By "Ferdinand Marois"

SOUTH AFRICA is an enormous plateau with terraced tablelands rising one above the other, terminating in rugged mountains. The configuration of the land is such as does not allow of navigable rivers. Only two natural harbors exist, namely Saldahna Bay in the Cape Province, and Delagoa Bay in Portugese East Africa. The fact that for generations the only means of transport was ox wagon accounts for the slow growth of South African colonization.

Before the discovery of diamonds and gold there was little to attract the greed of profit mongers. Factories could not be established because towns were few and far between and because the Boers and Kafirs were able to supply all their homely wants direct from the soil. Kimberley is about 700, and Johannesburg 1,000 miles from Cape Town, and the needs of a rapidly growing population of mining adventurers in these centers demanded a quicker and surer method of conveyance than the painfully tedious ox wagon. Railroads, therefore, became a necessity, but private enterprise would not undertake the risk of tapping what then appeared to be nothing but a desert. Thus it was forced upon the governments of the two British colonies and the two Boer republics to establish railway systems.

Railways are so intimately connected with the exploitation of land and labor that it is no matter for surprise that they should have been the dominant factor in bringing about South African Union. Capitalist development required uniformity of tariffs and regulations, and these latter required a centralized system of control.

The evolution of industry under capitalism makes for more and more centralization of government. But the more highly centralized capitalist government becomes the more clearly does it reveal itself as an instrument for the subjection of the propertyless to the whims and caprices of the propertied classes of society. This increase of oppression deepened the hatred of the workers against their exploiters. In other words, capitalist development hastens the progress of working class solidarity.

Such centralization of capitalist government and concurrent increase of working class solidarity are well illustrated in the case of South African railways. In 1908, when the four South African colonies still had separate governments and separate railway systems, Natal railwaymen struck for abolition of piece work and for improvement of conditions generally. Railway workers on the three other colonial systems not only refrained



CLEARING THE WAY FOR THE RAIL.

from helping their Natal brothers but even acted as scabs to break the strike. They were "loyal" to their respective administrations. And the only reward of their "loyalty" was reduction of wages and speeding up when Union was brought about. Union broke down the barriers which had separated South African railwaymen into four watertight compartments. Hence, while Union increased the profits of the exploiting class, it brought about conditions which forced all railwaymen in the Union to take common action against a common enemy.

The government of the Union of South Africa now owns and operates some 8,000 miles of road. The capital account on the 31st December, 1912, stood at \$464,584,455, inclusive of \$58,222,830 for harbors, lighthouses, etc., which are also state property and come under the control of the department of railways and harbors. Earnings were \$70,000,000 and expenditures \$40,000,000. Interest accounted for \$20,000,000, leaving a net surplus of \$10,000,000. The sum of \$32,850,000 was dis-

tributed in wages among 61,063 employes, who were classified as follows:

Supervising officers	177
Clerical staff.....	4,408
Artisans and apprentices.....	5,738
Other white staff.....	15,744
White laborers.....	5,316
Colored and native laborers.....	25,830
Indian laborers	3,850

Total61,063

The average yearly wage for railway and harbor servants, therefore, amounts to \$500 per employe. The munificence of this rate of wage may be judged from the fact that the railway clerical staff of the Transvaal recently submitted a memorial to government, proving by comparative statistics that a married man with two children cannot live comfortably in Johannesburg on less than \$2,100 a year. And the government employs thousands of white railway and other workers at from 75 cents to \$1.25 a day!

Under the pretext of "running the railroads on a business basis" it has been arranged for the surplus of \$10,000,000

over and above profits to state bondholders to be handed over to land monopolists, mine magnates and merchants in the shape of reduced rates for the conveyance of merchandize. It is claimed that this policy will reduce the cost of living. As a matter of fact the consumers (who are also workers) have not benefited one iota. The cost of living has risen instead of falling. In plain language South African state railways are an additional means whereby the exploiters can rob the exploited.

With the exception of locomotives, rolling stock has hitherto been almost wholly manufactured in state railway workshops at Pretoria (Transvaal), Durban (Natal), Nitenhage and Salt River (Cape Province). The railway administration has decided, however, to order \$2,500,000 worth of rolling stock from private British manufacturers, although the material can be put together in the local railway

workshops far cheaper and better. In view of the alleged government policy of "making South Africa a white man's country" through the encouragement of local industry, the only explanation of this curious departure is that some railway official or officials have received or been promised a handsome commission from the British contractors.

The creation of an artificial deficit owing to the handing over of railway profits to the property owning class and to the sending of work to be done outside the Union, caused the railway administration to adopt a policy of "economy"—at the expense of railway workers. Notwithstanding a large increase of goods and passenger traffic, it was decided to retrench a thousand employes and to reduce the wages of the remainder. The iniquity of such a policy is all the more heinous seeing that, pending the report of the commission recently appointed to



LAYING THE LINE—NATIVE CONSTRUCTION GANG.

inquire into railway grievances, it was agreed that neither the railway workers nor the administration should take any definite action.

As a protest against the Rand massacre of July, 1913, the men of the Pretoria railway workshops struck work for one day. Train service was entirely suspended at Pretoria and along the Reef; and Hoy, autocrat of railways, suffered the dreadful humiliation of having to beg permission from his slaves to send the train with over-sea mails to Cape Town. A few weeks afterwards the men of the Durban railway workshops struck for one day in order to attend the funeral of a *colored* shunter whose death was due to the culpable negligence of the railway authorities. In both cases the government gave out that the railwaymen had not gone on strike but had been granted a holiday!

These and other significant manifestations of revolt so alarmed the government that it announced the appointment of a commission to receive evidence and frame a report on railway grievances. One member of the commission was to be elected by ballot among railway employes. The government nominated one, Patrick Duncan, a tool of the Rand magnates, posing as a labor sympathizer. The railway and Harbor Servants' Union nominated their secretary, M. J. Poutsma, a Socialist, who had been exiled from Holland for inciting the wage slaves of that country to strike for better conditions of life. Poutsma was elected by an overwhelming majority. This victory was achieved in spite of the efforts of the government to intimidate or disfranchise those who were suspected of favoring the men's candidate.

Of course the object of appointing a commission was not to remove the cause of grievances. Railwaymen were under no illusions in this matter. They were fully aware that a capitalist commission on any labor problem serves two purposes only: One, to gain time in which to organize the forces of oppression; and the other, to provide fat billets for a few tools of the parasite class. But nevertheless the election of a member to the precious commission in the present case afforded the railwaymen an excellent opportunity of advertising the strength of their union. At the time of the Rand massacre it had

a membership of 5,000. At the time of the election a few months later its membership was 15,000.

The evidence put before the commission proved that South African railway employes were overworked, underpaid, had excessive hours of labor and, worst of all, were systematically spied upon and tyrannized over by pimps of the administration.

The time taken by this railway commission and by the Rand industrial commission to collect evidence enabled the government to perfect its plans for reducing South African workers into absolute slavery. The government, which was caught napping last July and which would have been annihilated but for timidity and treachery, had since then been secretly organizing for the inevitable struggle. The guantlet was thrown down when, immediately after the season of "peace and good will to all men," the capitalist press announced the proposed retrenchment of a thousand railway men. A united protest from the railway workers had the effect of causing Burton, minister of railways, to deny the truth of the alleged proposal and to explain that the dismissal of 500 men only was contemplated. A further united protest made Burton reduce the number to 75. In fact, he denied that the government was going to retrench any men at all; and yet a document was seen in his office with the names of some 500 railway employes who were to be discharged as a "first installment." The greater number of these names were selected from the staff of the Pretoria workshops upon whom the government was resolved to take revenge for the revolt of last July.

Finding the railwaymen to be thoroughly aroused, however, the government changed its front and adopted the following *modus operandi*: Men guilty of petty breaches of the thousand-and-one vexatious and tyrannical regulations which are supposed to be committed to memory were discharged from the service and then re-engaged at a reduced wage. The executive of the Railway and Harbor Servants' Union made written and verbal protest against victimization of this kind, but all to no avail. A list of demands was presented, asking for the immediate stoppage of retrenchment, the

reinstatement of those who had been victimized, the establishment of a minimum wage of two dollars a day for white railway laborers, and the abolition of the piece work system. The reply of Burton was that the demands could not be entertained.

On the morning of the 8th of January, 1913—a historic date in the history of the South African labor movement—the men of the Pretoria railway workshops, numbering over a thousand, assembled outside the station and were addressed by Messrs. Poutsma, Nield, Riley and other organizers. The meeting was perfectly orderly and the speeches exceedingly moderate notwithstanding the aggravation of a body of armed cossacks who guarded the approaches to the station. The men were reminded by the speakers that they, the most highly paid railway workers in the Union, were risking their livelihood on behalf of their brothers at the bottom of the scale. It was not a strike for more wages, but a strike to help the sweated slaves of the administration and to prevent further victimization.

The running staff remained working all day on the 8th, but toward evening the good news came that the drivers and firemen had unanimously decided to respond to the appeal for working class solidarity. Pickets were appointed and the railwaymen's committee began to sit in permanent session. Only eight men scabbed among the thousand odd mechanics and only one driver among the running staff. To protect these miserable traitors a cordon of armed foot police was thrown around the works and station. A few trains arrived from the south on the 9th and then traffic stopped except for a couple of scratch trains piloted by the chief mechanical engineer, the locomotive "expert," and a few pen pushers from the general manager's office. It is worth noting that the aforesaid "expert," whose business it was to lecture the men on the handling of locomotives, ruined a half a dozen engines while the strike lasted.

Meanwhile the strike had spread to Johannesburg, Bloemfontain, Durban, De Aar and Cape Town. Poutsma, Nield and others had proceeded by motor car to Germiston Station to organize things

there, when report came that they had been kidnapped by detectives and thrown into gaol. Following up this line of action the government broke open the offices of the Amalgamated Society of Railway and Harbor Servants in Market street, Pretoria, and carried off safe, books, correspondence, cash, etc. similar kidnapping and burglary took place in other centers of the Union.

The Federation of Trades Unions, whose headquarters are the Trades Hall, Johannesburg, resolved upon drastic action in the face of this coup d'etat. A mass meeting was called on Sunday, the 11th of January, in Market Square, Johannesburg (where the dastardly murders were committed by government in July, 1913) and some twenty thousand people applauded the revolutionary speeches which were made denouncing the cowardly, murderous gang of robbers who were using the powers of government in order to grind the workers of South Africa into the very dust. From Sunday, balloting for or against a general strike went on and on Tuesday it was declared almost unanimously.

On Monday evening, however, the government had already had proclamations printed suspending civil law and placing the country under military despotism. On Tuesday the people of South Africa awoke to find the streets and public buildings bristling with rifles and bayonets. All public houses were closed. No civilian was allowed in the streets after 8 p. m. without a permit. The committees of all the workers' organizations were kidnapped and imprisoned without trial. Public meetings were prohibited. Everywhere armed cossacks and foot police kept people on the move. Sixty thousand of the lately formed defense force patrolled the lines, bridges, culverts and public buildings. Machine guns were planted in all the railway stations and in and about the mines. No telegraphic or telephonic communication was allowed between the workers at the various strike centers. The government accepted money for the messages and then failed to transmit them. In addition to this the government sent messages to the various towns throughout the Union intimating that the strikers at all other centers had gone back to work. These messages purported to

have come from the men's organizers. Notices were posted at all railway stations stating that the normal train service had been restored. The capitalist press which, through some lamentable weakness on the part of the Typographical Union, was allowed to appear, published most atrocious falsehoods calculated to spread discouragement and confusion in the ranks of the strikers.

A few weeks before the railway trouble came to a head the capitalist press made mention of a persistent rumor that the Swazis were rising in armed revolt and forcing the Boers to flee into laager. On the morning of the 9th of January—the day after the declaration of the railway

bridges. Sticks of gelatine, fuses and detonators were continually being "found" by policemen and "loyal" railway servants.

The strikers were fighting against fearful odds. All their leaders had been kidnapped, their offices burgled, their cash, books and correspondence stolen. They were forbidden to meet in greater numbers than five. Picketing was prohibited. They could not communicate with their friends. The government went so far at Bloemfontein as to prevent strikers or their families from leaving their homes. No one was permitted even to assist the family of a striker who might be in want of food. The rooms of the committee



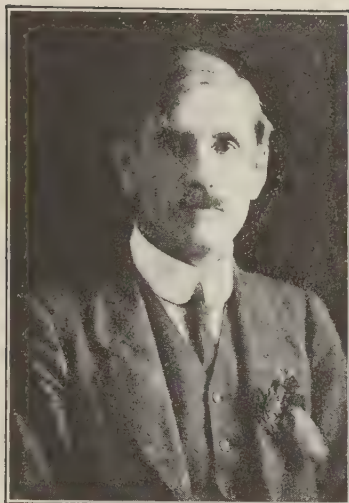
From the Illustrated Star, Johannesburg.

FIG 12 A Twelve-Pound Gun Trained on the Trade Union Hall, Johannesburg—The Strike Leaders Surrendered.

strike—flaring headlines announced that five thousand natives of the Jagersfontein diamond mine had swept through the town, looting and massacring in every direction. The origin and object of these lying statements became clear when the government called commanders of armed mounted Boers into the towns on the pretext that they were necessary to quell a native rising. Public opinion (i e., the opinion of the most ignorant, most cowardly and most reactionary people) was inflamed against the strikers through the publication of telegrams reporting alleged attempts to dynamite trains and

appointed for relief of distress were closed up and the food supply stolen. At Germiston the running staff were not allowed into their own homes to get food and were forced back to work at the point of the revolver. At Pretoria a man who smiled in Market street was arrested and thrown into gaol. The armed Boers in Germiston ran amuck and rounded up five hundred people and herded them promiscuously in a bull pen.

All labor newspapers were suppressed. A strike herald was started at Pretoria to give authentic information to the workers, but the printing press was confis-



THREE OF THE NINE "UNDESIRABLE CITIZENS" WHO WERE DEPORTED.

J. T. BAIN,
Organizer Federation of Trade
Unions and Strike Secretary.

ARCHIBALD CRAWFORD,
Socialist Editor.

R. B. WATTERSON,
Engineers' and Firemen's Assn.

cated and the editor, printers and publisher thrown into prison without trial. Savage sentences were served upon innocent people. A modern Judge Jeffreys with the name of Van den Berg took a fiendish delight in sentencing members of the working class to fines of from \$25 to \$100. A month or two months' imprisonment without option was a favorite device for getting temporarily rid of dangerous enemies of the robber class.

In these circumstances it was no wonder that workers at Cape Town began to lose heart and to believe some of the calculated lies spread abroad by the government and the servile press. The Cape Town men have been many years in the railway service and many of them were eligible for pensions which they were afraid of forfeiting should they continue to hold out when all other railway strikers had returned to work. The running staff especially were the first to surrender, and as the train service gradually increased the other strikers lost their nerve. Paid agents of the government mixed among them and whispered insidious treachery in order to stampede them back to work. The men had endeavored to establish a service of motorcycle dispatch riders and a pigeon post between the towns, but the former was stopped under martial law and the latter failed in a very few days for want of pigeons.

Of course it must be admitted that in spite of the conspiracy of force and fraud it would have been possible for the workers to have stood firm and won out. But in order to have done so they should each have been thoroughly class conscious and thoroughly aware of the nature of the enemy with which they had to deal. It was evident from the peaceful, orderly manner in which they carried on their agitation and conducted their strike that they expected a clean fight. This proves that they were pathetically ignorant. It is agreed on all sides, however, that the workers of South Africa have had such an experience as they will never forget. They saw the capitalist beast in all its loathsomeness. They went back to work as a result of lies and treachery, and their hearts are bitter. The mildest men have become fervent revolutionaries since the 8th of January, 1914, and an evil day awaits capitalism in the near future.

Capitalist parliament opened at Cape Town on the 30th of January, and, of course, the first measure to be rushed through was an indemnity bill to relieve Botha and his fellow tools of capitalism of the consequences of their illegal acts. This bill will be signed by the imperial liberal government (also "friends" of the workers) unless the British labor organizations paralyze them with a general strike. There is not much hope of that,

in view of the disgraceful treachery of British labor "leaders."

Three other measures will also be rushed through the South African Union parliament this session. One, for the suppression of free speech, free press and public assemblage; the second for the discouragement of strikes; and the third, for the establishment and maintenance of an organization of strike breakers.

Meanwhile, the kidnapped leaders of the South African Federation of Trades are on the high seas, bound for London, forcibly separated from their wives, families and friends. They have been found guilty (without trial) of the most terrible of all crimes—the crime of being loyal to their class. Loyalty to the working class in the twentieth century is a more heinous offense than high treason or blasphemy was in the tenth century.

The moral to be drawn is that the sooner we stop advocating state ownership and get

down to real business the better it will be for the working class. It is painful for us as class-conscious South African workers to hear of British and American Socialists lending themselves to a policy of "buying out" the present robbers, as if this would bring about proletarian emancipation. Diamond mines, railways, harbors, posts, telegraphs, forests, wine farms, book stalls, refreshment rooms, water supply, electric supply, breweries, abattoirs, tramways, etc., etc., are nationalized or municipalized in South Africa. And the property-owning class of South Africa are the most brutally vindictive spoilers of humanity that history can record. No! We workers do not want nationalization. What we want is the whole earth, and the only way to get it is to TAKE it—WITHOUT "compensation" to the present possessors and oppressors. Should we not be ashamed to think that we have less intelligence and less courage than the despised Mexican peon!

THE MENACE IN GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP

By John McSlarrow

GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP of the basic industries is generally acknowledged to be a logical, if not necessary, step in the evolution of society. And when we consider that Government, or the State, is nothing more than an Executive Committee of the Ruling CLASS, it is reasonable to expect that this class will eventually turn over the entire management of its affairs to its very efficient committee—the National Government.

As all signs point to such a transfer of executive power (in several industries at least) at no distant date, it is well that the workers should begin to look closely into the matter and determine, if possible, how best to shape events in a way that will aid them and their class in their revolutionary movement.

In making a plea for a Co-operative Commonwealth, in which the workers shall be owners of the instruments of production, we Socialists often refer to present Government owned enterprises, and

take pride in the efficiency and economy manifest in their management. The Postal Department, for example, is often used as an illustration of "what the people can do." While the speaker seldom intends to leave such an impression, people are so accustomed to regarding the Government as the representative of ALL THE PEOPLE that the average person goes away from the lecture under the impression that the speaker has offered the Post Office as an example of Socialism.

Knowing the true inwardness of the operations of the Postal Department, so far as the workers are concerned, I am not surprised that semi-informed persons regard Socialism as "the coming Slavery."

To use such illustrations has caused more confusion and called for more explanations than any other preachment ever made by a Socialist agitator. And the last condition of the student's mind is generally left more cloudy than the first. In my opinion, the time consumed

in such arguments and such illustrations could be used to far greater advantage if devoted to teaching the Class Struggle.

I was an employe in the Postal Department for a period of considerably over two years. I entered it for the purpose of learning at first hand, from the inside, just what virtue there was in this much touted "socialistic" institution. Needless to say, I found out.

I was a "Sub Carrier" in the Seattle Post Office. A Sub Carrier is one who is held in reserve, to take the place of a "Regular" who may be absent. The Department allows one Sub Carrier to each ten Regulars, or major fraction. The wage of a Sub is 30 cents an hour (when he works). But owing to the system of efficiency under which the Regulars work, none of them ever dares to lay off as long as he can possibly report for duty.

So there are weeks and months at a time when a Sub will not get enough work to keep him in coffee and doughnuts. Many and many a day I have gone on rations consisting of cold coffee for breakfast, an apple or something of the kind, swiped from some grocer's show box, for lunch, and a supper of boiled potatoes and bread.

I have worked in the logging camps, and the lumber mills; I have worked in the cotton fields of the south (from sun-up to sun-down, for six bits per day); in fact, I have had a wide diversity of jobs, and ALL OF THEM HARD ONES, but I know of nothing that is quite so fatiguing as carrying mail up and down the hills of Seattle.

Although Seattle has steadily increased in population, and at a more rapid rate than any other city of my knowledge, there has been very few additions to the Post Office force for the last decade. The result is that those on the job are literally worked to death, while the Sub, waiting for a job, is starved to death.

When I first entered the Service, there was talk of several carriers being added to the local force in a short time, but there was such a howl raised just about this time concerning the annual deficit in the Postal Department, that Postmaster General Hitchcock made an effort to reduce expenses. He did this in the orthodox capitalist manner. He took it out of the workers. Although the busi-

ness of the department was rapidly increasing, he cancelled all previous orders for an increase in the working force, and demanded that those already on the job should SPEED UP, and thus handle the increased volume of business. I suppose he would have reduced the money wage also, if it had appeared possible for the employes to exist on less.

The salary of a first year "Regular" is six hundred dollars per year. That of a second year man is supposed to be eight hundred; of the third year nine, fourth year ten, and fifth year twelve hundred dollars.

I say "supposed to be" because it does not always work out that way in practice. In order to get this annual raise, it is necessary that the victim shall pass a certain percentage of Efficiency. This Efficiency test is based largely on the number of "De-merits" one may have incurred. Every time you are late with a delivery, it means a certain number of demerits; every time you are sick, and have to employ a Sub it is more demerits; every time you make a mistake in delivering a piece of mail matter, it is again demerits. And, if some old hen of the aristocracy should take a dislike to your looks, and complain about it, it means another large bunch of demerits. It is demerits for this, and demerits for that—just one endless avalanche of demerits—until about the only way one can hope to get a raise above the initial fifty dollars per month, is by becoming a complete, and very rapidly moving automaton.

You are not supposed to think; and if you should show signs of having a mind of your own, the demerits are piled on with a lavish hand. I know men who have been in the service TEN years who only get eight hundred per year; and they are not LAZY either. Indeed, I have worked their route for them, when necessity compelled them to lay off a day or two, and I know from experience that they must have to go on what a military man would call a "double quick" to cover their district in the allotted eight hours.

Apparently, the first, last, and only thought of the Mail Carrier is "How to avoid those Demerits," and the only way that presents itself to his mind is to slave, and slave, and slave a bit harder. The Seattle Post Office (as is the case with

ALL modern Post Offices) is built with DOUBLE WALLS. The inner wall has latticed windows at frequent intervals, through which detectives can watch the employes without themselves being seen. On the street, the mail carrier sees in every person he meets a possible "Spotter." Working there, day after day, under real or imagined, espionage, very soon makes a nervous wreck of anyone who has any nervous system at all.

I have, as far as possible, investigated conditions in the Postal Service of other parts of the country, and so far as I can judge, one place is about as bad as another. In all of them the Regulars are worked to death; in all of them the Subs are starved to death. In New York (I am told) there are men who have been on the Sub list for ten years. Always there is the Penitentiary staring them in the face. In Chicago recently the daily papers report two letter carriers were fined five thousand dollars, and sentenced to the Penitentiary for three years each, for the trivial offense of "loitering while on duty." That is the way it is done. They work the life out of the men and when sheer exhaustion forces them to slow down, they are sent to the Penitentiary for three years, and FINED FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS.

With such a practical demonstration of Governmental efficiency in handling slaves, is it any wonder that many Capitalists are seriously considering the matter of turning the entire management of their business over to their Executive Committee?

It would be a mistake to assume that Postal employes are not class conscious, they are extremely so; but it is not of the militant kind. Every bit of rebellious manhood seems to have been eliminated from their being. They recognize the fact of class division in Society. They KNOW they are nothing but slaves, but they appear content to remain such. Their only thought is how to become more *efficient* slaves, and thereby gain the approbation of the master—and perhaps a few more crumbs from the master's table.

There are a few Socialists among them; but most of those are of a very pale color. They attempt nothing for them-

selves, but dream continually of a time, somewhere in the dim future, when the Socialist party will triumph in a National election, and give them a little better wages, and a little less exacting rules. So far as I was able to discover, there is JUST ONE real militant Socialist in the Seattle Post Office—and he is hanging onto his job by the skin of his teeth. I can say, frankly, that I never knew a more SERVILE lot of slaves than the letter carriers of Seattle. The memory of the time I spent in their company, is like the memory of a bad dream—a veritable nightmare, with ignorance and stupidity as the main factors.

The lethargic condition of mind, so prevalent among the Postal employes, is, in my opinion, due, in large part at least, to the idea that the Government is a power apart from and above the powers of ordinary mortals; something which we should reverence and respect, no matter how tyrannical it may be. It is, in fact, the modern phase of that old mind-en-slaving idea that, "The King can do no wrong."

I would not FIGHT Government ownership, for it IS a step forward in evolution, and to fight it would be reactionary and useless. But, I do not consider it the duty of the Socialist Party to waste its time clamoring for such a system. And besides, we haven't got time. We must make hay while the sun shines. We must teach the Class Struggle. We must teach the workers that they will be even worse slaves under Government ownership than they are now. We have got to teach them that the only possible way to gain even a measure of liberty is by the capture of the Powers of Government by the working class.

We have got to teach them that ECONOMIC POWER is the foundation of all power, and that a mighty good way to capture economic power is to organize on the job; and organize so thoroughly that we have JOB CONTROL. And, WE MUST DO THIS BEFORE THE INDUSTRIES ARE TURNED OVER TO THE CAPITALIST EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT. For, it is hard enough now to get the slaves to do a bit of thinking, but it will be many times harder

after a decade or so of Government ownership has completely ossified half the faculties of their brains, and developed the faculty of devising ways and means of becoming more efficient, and more profitable slaves.

If the Postal employes were properly educated and organized, they could bring the Government to its knees any day they liked. Imagine what would be the result if the two hundred letter carriers and the numerous office force of the Seattle Post Office should go on strike. It would completely paralyze business in that burg for quite a while. For it would not be possible, even though Regular Carriers and clerks were brought from some other town, to get together a force that could step in and handle the business of the Seattle post office. And, they could not learn to do it with any appreciable degree of efficiency in less than several months. Think what would happen if all the Postal employes in the U. S. should stay at home tomorrow morning.

When we consider the immense coercive force possible in such a numerically small number of workers as the Postal employes, the mind is thrilled in contemplating the possibilities of what an entire

working class can do, organized ON THE JOB, and inspired with a revolutionary ideal.

We will win a National Socialist victory at the polls some day. But I KNOW that we will have Government ownership of a great many of our basic industries, many years ahead of that much longed for jubilee day. And, I DO KNOW that if the workers in those Government owned industries are left to their own devices, and to the enervating influences which now obtain in all Government institutions, they will become as a herd of dumb cattle, upon which Reason will make slight impression. They will stand as a stupid wall between the Government and those who wish to change it—a wall which can only be removed by Bayonets and similar forceful arguments.

Get them once properly educated and organized, and they will be a most powerful ally; for, with the ability to control the industry in which they work, AND THE WILL TO DO IT, they can virtually dictate to Government. They will, in fact, BE THE GOVERNMENT; and, being such, will usher in the Co-operative commonwealth.



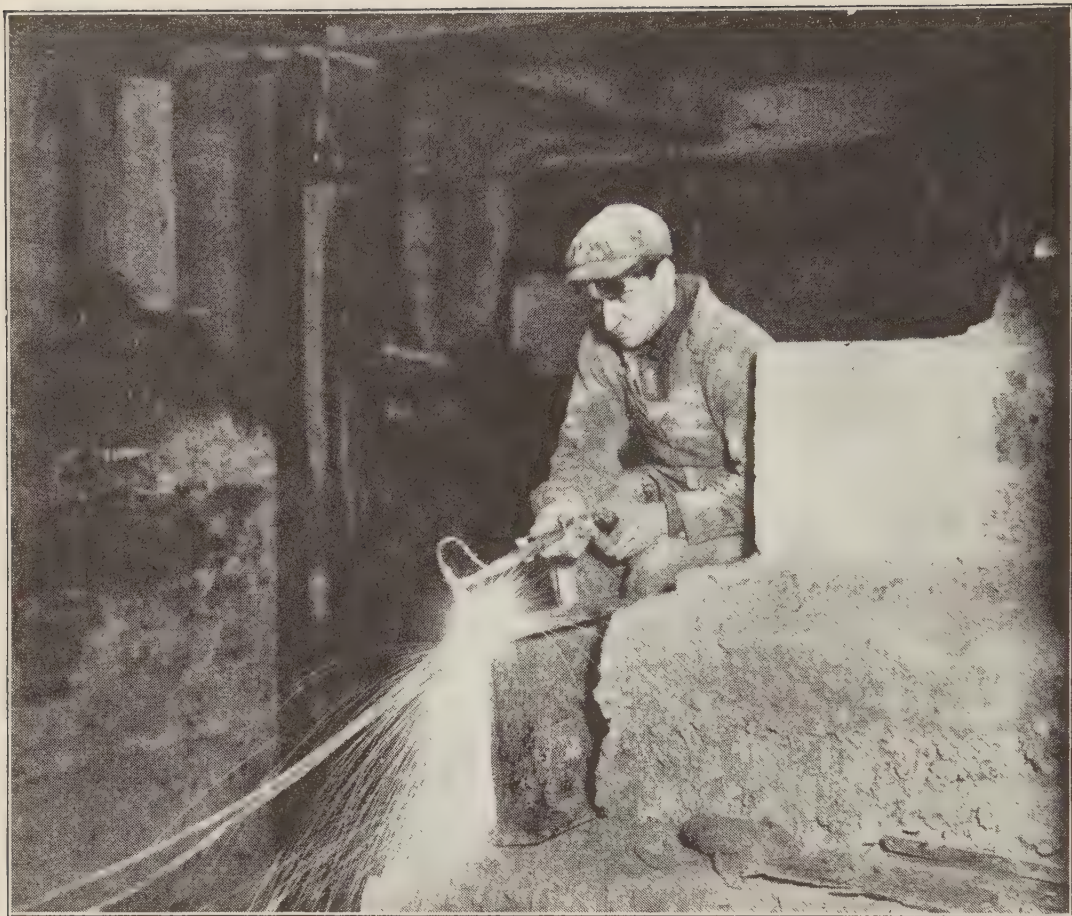


Photo by Paul Thompson.

CUTTING STEEL BEAMS WITH ACETYLENE BURNER.

THE PASSING OF THE BOILER-MAKER

By L. T. Rush

LOOKING back at the condition of the boilermaker's trade sixteen years ago, I remember that nearly all of our work was done then with small hand tools. The boilermaker was a proud man in 1897—and justly proud. He could do excellent work; necessary work that required skill and care. In those days the boss was a worker alongside the rest of the men.

Then came the pneumatic tool, driven by compressed air. With it the boilermaker could calk a yard where he had formerly calked an inch. Next came the pneumatic riveter, which riveted from 200 to 500 riv-

ets in a nine or ten-hour day. Previously the best two hand riveters could do in a day was from 50 to 90 rivets. Compressed air was also used to cut out worn and dangerous pieces in the boilers. All in all, the pneumatic tool put a few unskilled workers on the job and threw out many skilled men.

The latest invader in our field is the "gas machine," or acetylene blaze, which cuts great sheets of defective steel out of heavy steel boilers as though they had been made of a hard wax. Using this new tool, one man can cut the spaces that formerly required twelve highly skilled men.

The "gas machine" also performs won-

ders in welding in the fire boxes, on patches and cracks.

In the "old days" wages ranged from \$2.50 to \$3 a day, the scale changing often, as the boilermakers had no union. Men competed against each other for jobs and underbid each other to secure work.

When the union was organized we chose a motto for our inspiration. It was "An Eight-Hour Day." You don't often hear the phrase any more.

And yet everywhere I hear the boilermakers and other craft union friends of mine asking: "What shall we DO?" Production has vastly increased and yet the old band of boilermakers and molders and glassblowers grows ever smaller.

The facts are that new machines are doing the work we used to do. They have come in and underbid us on the job. It pays the bosses ten times over to use modern machines and less skilled men, than to employ us. With the exception of the foreman, the layerout and the flanger, we see all around us many men for few jobs.

And WHAT ARE WE GOING TO DO ABOUT IT? We can't blame the boss. He buys labor-power where he can get it the cheapest. He buys machines that will produce the cheapest. He wants to make as large profits as possible. We would do the same thing if we were in his place. We would HAVE to do the same thing if we were in his place or we would find our competitors forcing us out of business, because he could make things cheaper than we could.

Our consuming wants are greater than ever, while our consuming ability, or wages, is on the down grade. Competition between wage workers keeps wages down. Trade depression is becoming more chronic because of the workers displaced by machinery. The coat manufacturer sells coats to men. He can't sell them to machines. And so we will have "over-production" again because the workers don't get enough money to buy the things they produce.

And first of all, we have to outgrow our narrow CRAFT lines. It used to be enough to help us when we fought for our craft union. Now the machine is breaking up the craft union. The union can't take care of that 90 per cent of men who are thrown out of employment because of the advent of the automatic machine. And when idle men

are kept outside the craft union they are made over into scabs IF THEY WANT TO LIVE and support their babes.

If we want to be daddies and grand-daddies, now is the time to act. Self-preservation and race preservation is our lofty mission. There is a great big fence between us and the realization of these things. It is the private ownership of the means of life—the private ownership of the factories, mines, the land, the mills and shops.

The trust buster has had his day. Now comes the reformer, who wants to take over the watered stock of the weary corporations and "give" us "government ownership" and give bonds that pay huge interest to the owners of present industry. Whenever a big captain of industry gets into serious trouble with the working class, he always feels that it would be a glorious relief to throw the white elephant into the hands of the government, if the government would guarantee to pay him the same rate of interest on his money—the same dividends. Nearly everybody knows that a storm is coming. Let's prepare for it.

What we need is INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY, where every worker will own his own job and where the working class will manage the industries and dispose of their products as they alone see fit.

While the old system lasts we must demand shorter working hours if we do not want to see an army of unemployed that will force wages down to the starvation point. Two hours cut off the present workday would employ a million men today in the United States.

Furthermore, we must all work for ONE BIG UNION of the workers. We must make it easy for men to join the union. We must, in fact, make the Big Union a union of the working CLASS. And don't forget that the little Red Card represents the workers' one political party of the world—the Socialist party. United in one big organization on the political field, members of one great union, we shall be armed to meet the enemy of Capitalist exploitation and speed that day when the working class shall come forth triumphant to enjoy the homes they have built, the clothes they have made, the food they have produced, and all the other good and beautiful things of life!

CHINA AND STANDARD OIL

By Mary E. Marcy

A FEW years ago China was the most backward of all the great nations, not only from the viewpoint of economic development but from the viewpoint of politics, education and all other modern social forces. The former doubtless explains the latter.

But gradually, within the old form of the Chinese social system, in spite of the reactionary tendencies of the Manchus in office, the outlines of a vast economic development began to take form. These new interests fostered modern education, science and rebellion among the Chinese people whose aid the young industrial organizations needed, to throw off the old form of government and make way for one that would mean freedom for further development economically and industrially.

Germany had long been quietly working inside the Chinese Wall laying the foundations for a future hold on China; England and Japan had secured precarious economic holds in the various provinces. The Standard Oil Company had for years been sending experts to the empire to estimate the value of the oil fields and had devoted millions of dollars to making its products popular from one end of the country to the other.

So that when the Chinese people, weary of long oppression, scandalous grafting and extortionate taxation, stimulated by the spirit of modern industry, arose to throw off the ancient rule of the Manchus, socialists, like Dr. Sun Yat Sen, and reformers, who had done much to arouse this spirit, entertained great hopes of launching the new republic in a manner that would mean a safe and gradual growth toward the socialist ideal. They hoped to avoid the evils of capitalism as they had seen them in other lands; the vast wealth gathered in the hands of a

few owners of the tools of production and distribution, and poverty and suffering for the workers who had produced all.

Dr. Sun and his confreres devoted their lives to educating the Chinese people. With marvelous foresight they sought to unite them into an intelligent organization that would be able to withstand any and all attempts to allow the natural resources of the empire to become the private property of any individual or group for the exploitation of the Chinese people.

But this task was beyond the power of any group of men. Love and confidence in Dr. Sun enabled the Chinese people for a time to successfully combat the schemes of grasping self-seekers. But they did not possess the long training in the modern factory, mill and workshop that develops in the wage working class a strong feeling of solidarity and enables them to accomplish so much. The Chinese were accustomed to fighting as individuals. The goal for which Dr. Sun strived is one that can only be reached by a class of wage workers who have been trained in the school of practice, to work, suffer, fight and conquer together, on the industrial field.

His plans were beyond their imagination. The Chinese people needed the standardization that the factory system produces in the working class, the unifying experience of modern production to weld them into a great fighting army of proletarians.

Education is a great and wonderful factor in the success of the working class. But the experience of having like aims, similar needs and desires and the class solidarity that comes from working and fighting together—are possible only in a society based upon modern machine production.

It is far easier for experienced capitalists, seeking private wealth, to organize society on a basis of modern machine production than to educate a people, accustomed to the most primitive methods, into a desire and an ability to develop the resources of their nation collectively for the benefit of everyone.

The aims of the capitalists in China were beautifully simple and direct. The half awakened people of China possessed a thousand conflicting desires and aims. Dr. Sun, with his European education and his travels in America and Europe, was a century ahead of the Chinese people.

It was to be expected, under the circumstances, when the "foreign" capitalists began to supply Yuan with money for bribing the members of his new parliament into repudiating Dr. Sun's program, that enough officials should succumb to give the reformers and socialists a crushing political set-back.

The money of these "foreign" capitalists continued to pour into the lap of President Yuan. He was able to provision and equip additional troops as well as to use the entire Chinese army in crushing his opponents. Hundreds of socialists were executed. The foreign armies joined the Chinese army in suppressing every reform newspaper and editor who dared so much as to lift his pen against the policies of Yuan.

These methods of suppression were after the methods of the ancient Manchus, who had always fought the press and kept the headsmen busy working overtime. Yuan had the full support of the "foreign" capitalists and he was able to substantially reward them with millions of dollars' worth of China's limitless natural resources.

China and Standard Oil.

In the old times when a new ruler conquered his people he sometimes formed an alliance with a neighboring or friendly power. But in this respect President Yuan established a most remarkable precedent.

Diplomats from Germany, France, England and the United States were maintained in China to establish friendly re-

lations for the capitalist class of their fatherlands. They asked many things of President Yuan and made vague and far-distant promises. They pledged a future paved with the friendships of their countries. But also there were on hand, with wide open purses, various "foreign" capitalists, helping to suppress Yuan's rebellious subjects.

President Yuan followed the venerable Chinese custom. He took "the cash and let the credit go." Evidently the Standard Oil Company was more to be trusted, more powerful, more certain than the United States government. And the Standard won out where America failed.

Hence comes the announcement that the Chinese government has chosen the Standard Oil Company as her ally. After all, the substance of a powerful economic interest is more reliable than the shadow of "popular" government, and those of us who know that economic control is the greatest of all social levers, cannot but agree that Yuan has chosen wisely from the viewpoint of his own personal interests. The Standard Oil Company can force the United States government to aid Yuan in China. The flag follows the Oil Can.

Lamps in China.

Several years ago we published a story in the REVIEW on how the Standard was pushing the sale of oil in China.

When the Standard Oil Company first went into China, it found that very few of the Chinese were using lamps of any kind. Nearly everybody went to bed when it grew too dark to work and they arose with the dawn. Later a few soon began to burn wicks stuck in old tin cans filled with oil, to secure a faint light.

A little red lamp was devised by the Standard Oil Company which sold in China at 7½ cents each. Thousands of these were given to the keepers of the temples, inns, etc., for the sake of the advertising that would accrue to the Standard. The first year 875,000 lamps were sold and 2,000,000 the year after, and oil sales went up by leaps and bounds. Lamps became the fashion.

Vice-President Bemis, of the Standard Oil Company, says:

"The lamp has promoted industry in China and been a great uplift to the nation. They couldn't work on their silk after 4 o'clock in the day before they had it. Now they can work into the night."

Mr. Bemis also reports:

"there was signed a few days ago what I believe to be the first PARTNERSHIP arrangement ever made between a GREAT NATION and a PRIVATE CORPORATION." Wall Street journals report that the Chinese government is "the junior partner" in this alliance.

The Sun, New York, says: "The work of development is to proceed under the Chinese-American Company, in which the Standard Company holds a large majority control, with the Chinese government sharing the profits of development as its partner.

The Standard gets the right of exploration and development in the two great

northern provinces to begin with, besides other provinces. It has the vitally essential privilege of building railroads and pipelines, in addition to the sinking of oil wells, establishment of warehouses, storage tanks, and all that accompanies oil development.

One of the most far-reaching grants is the guaranty of the government that it will assume control of all lands needed for this development, and, in turn, will give these to the partnership company.

In a few weeks, we are informed, the American petroleum experts will be punching holes in the ground and watching the first Chinese oil spout forth.

It seems to us that China is about to jump to the front as a modern nation in a very short time. We are not going to have to wait two or three hundred years for China to develop scientific socialism as some of us had anticipated. We shall not need to help along a backward nation. The Standard Oil Company will do that.

China is going to leap over the competitive system through which America and European nations struggled for many years. She is beginning modern industry on the most modern scale in the world. She will start at the topmost point we have been able to achieve and government ownership will facilitate development in every conceivable way.

Nothing will be permitted to stand in the way. All things will be brushed aside for the advance of industry. And capitalism will stand out, in China, in all her ugliness, very nude indeed. The Chinese government itself will exploit the Chinese people as they have never before been exploited. An army of propertyless, rebellious wage slaves will arise here as in every other modern nation, who have nothing to lose but their chains.

The prospects for a mighty army of Socialism in China are growing better every day.



THE NEW LIGHT OF THE EAST.



Are You Going to the International Congress?

THERE will be a larger number of people, representing a larger number of nations attending the International Socialist Congress to be held in Vienna, Austria, the 23rd of next August, than have ever been gathered together under the Red Flag before in the history of the world.

The Socialist Parties of all countries will send delegates. The Socialist Party in the United States will send nearly ten or more.

The REVIEW is making an offer that will give every hustling Socialist a chance to go if he, or she, wants to work a little for the chance.

Those who had already enrolled among the Squad have been sending in a good many subs, the past month and now that better weather is coming, a lot of the young folks have promised to roll up their sleeves and begin to rush them in.

Comrade Cash Webster, of Montana, writes that the boys are going to take subs and send them to us to be applied to the credit of a trip for H. U. Coster, who was the first, and for many years, the only Socialist in his district. Cash Webster and the comrades in Havre seem to have decided that they will MAKE the home Trail-blazer their representative. Why not do likewise in your own local? There are a lot of the old timers on whose foundations of a Socialist movement we are today building. Why not send them to Vienna as your representative? We would like to see all the Old Guard have an opportunity to see how the Socialist

movement has grown since they began to break the underbrush.

Comrade Root of Kansas City sent in an initial batch the first of the month, and James Davies, of Iowa, Michael Altschuler of 645 East Sixth street, New York, have both enrolled. Comrade Altschuler hopes to supply our New York friends in his district with copies of the REVIEW each month. Note his address given above.

Other new ones are Dr. Willett, of Helena; Comrade Brown of Iuka, Kansas; Paul Gabardi, Wyoming; H. C. Boecker, of Little Rock; Dr. Wilson, of Rodi, Pennsylvania, and Comrade Rustad of Thief River Falls. They are all making preparations to win the free trip to Vienna. Friends from Schenectady write that the local comrades are co-operating to make Comrade A. Wilson their representative.

Any comrade who wants to hustle a little can make this trip. We only ask you to send in 300 yearly or 600 six month REVIEW subscriptions to us at the regular rate of \$1.00 a year. We pay railroad fare from any point east of Chicago, to New York and back, steamship fares both ways, and railroad fare to and from Vienna.

There never was an offer like this made by any magazine. Get the support of your local and your county paper and earn a trip that will be an inspiration to you and to your local comrades.

Write for sample copies of the REVIEW and sub blanks and start getting subs now.



FARMING IN FORMOSA.

GLIMPSES OF FORMOSA

By Marion Wright

FORMOSA, island empire, taken from China by Japan following the war of 1895, lies in the China sea about 180 miles north of the Philippines. It is therefore a strategic nightmare to the military and naval alarmists of America, who overlook its rich capacity to support a billion people, and think only of how easy it would be for the Japanese army and navy, using Formosa as a base, to "strike" at the precious Philippines.

This ancient Chinese island province of Taiwan is undoubtedly one of the most favored spots on earth if we count soil, climate and the diversified character of the country and its products. The island is 250 miles long by about 80 miles wide. A mountain range running through its center rises at one peak to the height of 13,000 feet. Along the entire western

side is a broad, flat plain that rises gradually into the foothills. The southern end of the island is flat, while the lowlands on its eastern side are somewhat narrower than on the west. Thus it will be seen that the island of Formosa, like the State of California, for instance, possesses both tropical plains and mountain ranges of eternal snow, only a few miles apart.

The average reader, if he has thought of Formosa at all since his geography days, imagines it as a wild, rough place, infested by ferocious savages and perhaps strange fevers, but this picture fails to fit the Formosa of today. A modern railway train, equipped with Pullmans and dining car, now makes two daily trips all along its western coast.

The only dangerous savages are those



DAILY SCENE IN FORMOSA. DON'T THEY LOOK HAPPY?

in the impenetrable mountain fastnesses of the North. These are said to be the most implacable foes that civilization has ever encountered in the form of man. With characteristic courage and love of freedom of all mountaineers, they resist to the death the slightest advances made by those of the outside world. Many efforts have been made by the Japanese government to have them "put down" like we exterminated the Moros in the Philippines, but like the expeditions which Mexico used to launch regularly against her untamed Yaquis, they return cut to pieces, with but little to show what happened to the other fellow. The Formosan savages have been whipped into a comparatively small circle, and before long we may expect to hear of their annihilation by mountain batteries of Japanese artillery. Some of their neighbors of the south have but recently been in revolt, and an "example" will have to be made of some one.

The accessible portions of Formosa

now boast of many industrial developments and civic improvements evolved within the relatively short period of eighteen years, or since the taking of the island by the Japanese.

Of the 3,000,000 inhabitants about 100,000 are Japanese and Chinese. The natives do not at all resemble Mongolians, but are more like Malays or Polynesians. Control of all industries is, of course, in the hands of Japanese or Chinese. The natives go the way of their brothers of Hawaii, the Philippines and other conquered countries. They do the work, while their masters collect the profit, rent and taxes.

The city of Taihoku, the capital of Formosa, is joined by the ports of Tamsui on the west and Keelung on the north. Both may be reached by an hour's ride on the railway. For improvements of the city vast sums have been expended annually for years, and it is now provided with macadamized roads, electric lights, waterworks and several fine parks. The

Japanese government seems very anxious to make Formosa an attractive port of call, and offers every possible comfort and facility for tourists. The southern part of the island is the center of the sugar industry. Sugar, rice, tea, camphor and tobacco form the principal staple products, although every variety of European and tropical fruits and vegetables thrive in Formosa.

Modern methods are being applied to farming, and modern machinery used, and the business is on a rapidly increasing scale. Valuable timber and hardwood is obtained from the great For-

mosan forests; the variety being necessarily great, owing to the wide range of altitude and climate. Luxuriant, subtropical vegetation beginning in the low, warm valleys of the south, climbs to the foothills, changing with the height, and ends in a hardy pine on the rugged mountain top.

Formosa is an empire within itself, embracing as it does all the features of a great country, and only awaits the further development that is already well grounded, to take its place as a most important unit of the Far East.

BUSINESS AND PATRIOTISM IN JAPAN

By S. Katayama

LAST year Japan experienced a pure and simple attack on the bureaucratic powers. The result was a great democratic demonstration Feb. 10th, 1913, in the city of Tokyo when the political parties joined the people and the Katsura Ministry fell.

The present ministry was formed by Count Yamamoto, supported by Seiyukai—the liberal party originally formed by Prince Ito. The Seiyukai commands an absolute majority in the Lower House of Parliament, and nominally four ministers.

Many of us had thought this would bring peace to parliament. But it has turned out to be a most stirring session. Premier Count Yamamoto and the naval minister have been the objects of severe attacks on the part of almost everyone. The party that supported the bureaucratic government has now become an enthusiastic sizer in the cause of the people.

And all these things have occurred through the recent exposure of Dr. Karl Liebknecht on the conspiracy existing between European manufacturers of war armaments and certain French and German newspapers which had been bribed to arouse the French and German people to a pitch of race hatred when they

would gladly fight each other to the bitter end.

Cable messages brought the news of the decisions of the Berlin Court to Japan, and one of the members of the Japanese Diet took up the case and interrogated the Premier and the Naval Minister. In spite of all these men could do to evade the matter, claiming they were only responsible to the Emperor and the Seiyukai, a part of the truth was discovered.

One cable after another brought us news of the German decision, which disclosed scandalous relations existing between our Naval Department and the Liemens Schuckert Company, a German firm manufacturing arms, with a branch located in Tokyo. Officers of the Naval Department have been receiving bribes from the manufacturers of the munitions of war.

The blackmailer Karl Richter, now made famous by his trial in Germany, stole valuable papers from Liemens. These he had photographed and then sold the originals to an Englishman, Andrew Pooley, the sole agent for another firm with a branch at Tokyo. Pooley extorted 25,000 yen from Liemens last October. The transaction was conducted at Yokohama, between Hermann, representing

Liemens, Pooley, and an interpreter of the German Consulate at the Port.

Hermann consulted with the Naval Minister, and the latter communicated the matter to the Minister of Justice and of the Interior. But nobody wanted the truth to leak out, so that Richter was quietly permitted to escape from Japan. The Japanese officials secretly "wiped their mouths" (as we say) and considered the matter closed.

All would have been smothered up if Dr. Liebknecht had not turned the light on these dark methods in Germany. And during the investigation there the truth about the Japanese officials was bound to come out also. Our Premier and Naval Minister were compelled to confess by the force of circumstances.

And this was a great thing for the working class in Japan. All has been done that is possible to arouse them to a feeling of patriotism and desire to fight for the glory of Japan. Now they were given an opportunity to see behind the show. The newspapers printed page after page about the scandal, and the people were aroused to the actual conditions.

Again, it was on the 10th of February—a year after the great popular democratic demonstration of 1913—that the Japanese people made memorable their strength in popular demonstrations. They demanded immediate action.

Pooley's wife, an English woman, at-

tempted suicide when her husband was put under arrest. Hermann and some of the Japanese were also arrested to await trial.

The Tokyo Prefect of Police secured original documents as evidence, and Shimada, who was speaking before the House, produced them. Word by word he proved the dishonesty of the Ministers.

In spite of all that could be done, however, the Majority Party voted down all resolutions on the affair and tried to bury the whole scandal. The Government and the Seiyukai won the victory over those who sought to impeach the guilty parties.

But 40,000 angry people stormed about, waiting the news outside the House of Parliament. When the outrageous word came forth, they began to push down the iron gates and force their way inside. Several hundred mounted police, who were inside, rushed up and a riot occurred, in which many were wounded by the sabers of the police.

One thing after another has occurred in Japan to arouse the people to the real conditions in society. The mask is being taken from the old institutions and they are becoming able to see correctly.

Already respect for the Army has nearly waned, and now that suspicions have been verified in the Navy, a great blow has been struck on the chains of workers of Japan.

COMRADE KATAYAMA WILL
CONTRIBUTE A SPECIAL ARTI-
CLE TO THE MAY REVIEW ON
"HOW JAPAN IS CIVILIZING
FORMOSA."

IN THE ARMY



GRUB TIME.

WE have received several interesting letters the past month from soldiers in the Philippine Islands. The boys sent us the photographs which will appear in this number of the REVIEW. Most of these show the troops at work beneath the hot sun. One of our Socialist friends writes:

"If you know of anybody looking for work, tell them there is plenty of it here. Some of us left the farm to fight for the flag, and here we are digging ditches, building miles and miles of roads, cutting down and hauling hundreds of loads of timber, splitting carloads of wood. The work is familiar to many of us. Just now



AT WORK.



LEAKY TENTS TO SLEEP IN.

a detachment has been sent to 'take a few mountains of earth and level up the parade grounds.' In about four or five months they will be able to report the 'enemy vanquished.'

"Some of us have been at work for two months building a target for the officers

to fire 1,046 pound projectiles at from four miles across the bay.

"It's hard and hot work and the poorest pay imaginable but it is a lot better than being BEHIND the guns, or BEFORE them—when the Guns Begin to Shoot."



MORE WORK.

MOTHER JONES

By a Paint Creek Miner

Have you seen this aged fighter—fearless, dauntless, trusted, true—
She who dared defy the masters and their craven coward crew—
She who faced them, fought them, forced them to do things they would
not do?

Have you heard her—bold, defiant—telling slaves they should be free?—
Listen how that voice, O, Brother, thrills with Hope for you and me—
Listen to that voice and tremble, all ye mighty Powers that Be!

Do you think she fears the soldiers with their cruel, brutal way?
Many times, in countless struggles has she faced them, bent and gray,
Doing things men dared not think of, saying things men dared not say!

Always where the fight was thickest, lashing while her spirit loathes—,
Laughing in their very faces, pitying their gaudy clothes;
Aged breast to dare their bullets, silver head to dare their oaths.

How they fear her, how they hate her—hate her kind and timeworn face.
How they rush armed mobs to meet her when she moves from place to
place—,
Bristling bayonets and sabres working shameless, deep disgrace!

How they guard that frail bent figure as they would some mighty foe—;
Lock her in some loathsome prison—gag the mouth that vexed them so—;
Send out lies by all their henchmen lest her angry sons should know!

When she sees a mine-guard near her then her heart's hot fires blaze,
Cows she down the rat-faced bully with her steadfast woman's gaze—
'Tells him things that he'll remember to the end of all his days.

Tells him of the sleeping village riddled by his murderous lead;
How he beat the helpless children to an icy hillside bed—
Kicked the young expectant mother 'till her baby was born dead!

When they had us in the bull-pen often would our spirits fall,
Thinking of the wrongs they'd done us, 'till we heard her bracing call:
Cheer up, boys, were going to lick them, lick them soon, God damn them all!

She is fiercest in her loving when the greedy bloodhounds stir,
Then her mother instinct threatens each hyena-hearted cur—;
Ah, a million grimy miners would lay down their lives for her!

Mother never quibbles with us when our tactics are not "right,"
Mother only blames and censures when we falter in the fight—,
Says the shortest way's the quickest with our undivided might.

Mother speaks our language—knows us—knows our faults and knows our
worth;

She has lived and suffered with us from the hour of her birth.
She's a mother to each miner, everywhere on all the earth.

Years ago we called her "Mother," now today it's just the same,
 Nothing else is so expressive of her loving, fighting fame—
 Nothing else would do but "Mother," therefore "Mother" is her name.

Some day in the golden future, when our fight is past and won,
 Men will make her deathless statues mark the good that she has done,
 So that all may know and love her as she loved her every son.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

By Frank Bohn

THE working class movement in America naturally takes three forms:

1. The development of the labor unions toward solidarity and revolutionary tactics.
2. The conquest and use of political power through the Socialist party.
3. The education of the working class through the development of the public school system.

Of these the last is at least as important as either of the other two. The best answer in three words to the question, What is the matter with Mexico? is *No public schools*. A farming class which cannot read and write is bound to be ruled by a feudal upper class. Among an illiterate wage-working class a democratic labor movement is, of course, impossible.

In scores of communities the Socialist party is today electing its candidates to positions on the school boards.

As members of municipal and state legislative bodies Socialists are brought constantly into contact with this most important problem. Unfortunately, almost nothing has been done by the Socialist party in the way of helping such officials in the performance of their duties. The problem is worthy of the best thought which can be given to it. This contribution will have failed utterly of its purpose if it does not urge many readers of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW to a deeper study of the educational problem.

The Working Class Child at School

Statistics upon this subject, abundant in the many public reports upon the mat-

ter, but which we shall refrain from lack of space from quoting here, indicate an appalling situation as regards the education of working class children in the United States. Only about half of the children under sixteen years of age really attend school regularly. Even so, the school rooms are over-crowded and in many cities tens of thousands of children are being given only half-time instruction. The teachers are shamefully underpaid and overworked. With few exceptions the school equipment is totally inadequate.

In private schools the expense of education, per child, is often from five to ten times what it is in the public schools. If the working class child, on leaving school for the factory at the age of fourteen, can write legibly and read a newspaper, he may consider his educational start in life as good as the average. In New York City, where the schools are much above the average of the country, classes of young children sometimes number sixty. Of course that number of pupils makes any real education impossible.

The Greatest of Industries

In the public schools of America there are about 20,000,000 children and 600,000 teachers at work. Today they are in a condition of industrial slavery and intellectual perversion, quite as unbearable as obtains in any of the directly productive industries. Thus in the schools there are three times as many people employed as are engaged in agriculture, fourteen times as many as there are at work on all our railroads, and twenty-five times as many as dig in all our mines. For this colossal

army the Socialist party demands industrial democracy and intellectual freedom.

To fight the forces of greed and oppression this army of teachers and the parents of the children must enter the political conflict of the classes. To Socialist teachers, were all other arguments for political action overthrown, the political aspects of the education industry would make class conscious voting necessary upon the part of the working class. In this field the coming economic organization of the teachers must go hand in hand with the political organization of the workers.

More—More—More

The first effort of the Socialist member of the school board must be directed toward securing more money for the schools. What is to be taught and how it is to be done are secondary problems. The first thing essential is to pay the teacher a living wage. That annual wage surely should not be less at present than that of a carpenter or first class machinist. Therefore, if a carpenter or machinist receives \$3.50 per day, the lowest paid teachers in the public schools should receive a minimum of one thousand dollars a year. We are not now discussing the condition of teachers under Socialism, but suggesting immediate action for Socialist and other intelligent members of school boards.

A decent wage will permit the employment of first rate instead of third rate brains. The services of those brains, having been engaged, can be retained only by a steady increase of wages during the first five years of their work. Teaching should be a life job, as it is in Europe. At least half the teachers, of course, should be men. But practically all the able-bodied men of average mind soon leave teaching and take up the study of law or medicine or go into business. As for women teachers, they, exactly like shop girls, seek a way out of their drudgery through marriage. Now, a woman who has been married for five years, with a child or two of her own, is undoubtedly much more valuable as a teacher than she was before marriage. Her knowledge of life, especially her sympathetic understanding of childhood, has been greatly developed. If women teachers were per-

mitted to marry and keep their jobs men teachers could marry them and not be driven into some other profession to support their families.

Beside higher wages for teachers, Socialist members of school boards should advocate a large increase of the teaching force. Ex-President Eliot has declared that in the primary grades fifteen scholars are all that a teacher can adequately attend to.

This means that in the average American city the number of primary teachers would have to be at least trebled. The inadequacy of our school buildings in number, size and construction is too well known to need emphasis. Beside every building for school classes there should be constructed another building of equal size for play and organized athletics. The terrible physical deterioration of the working class might be considerably checked at once if means for the physical development of children during all seasons were supplied. The free playgrounds of cities should be established in conjunction with school buildings and placed under the direction of the school management.

Form of School Government

Revolutionary Socialism demands that the workers be given collective control of their jobs. This principle should obtain in the public schools as well as in other industries. Our public school system is to be one of our departments of Socialist industrial government. It now bids fair to be the first department of industry in which a measure of democracy may be realized.

What sort of a system should the Socialist member of the school board strive to obtain?

Every such Socialist board member should advocate and assist in the immediate organization of the entire teaching force into unions. The teachers of the community will necessarily be organized into locals, according to the nature of their work. The kindergarten teachers, the grammar grade teachers, and the high school teachers should each have their separate local. However large or small the community, the teaching force requires organization not only for its own protection but for an intelligent and pro-

gressive administration of the schools. Within five years the political progressives of all varieties will probably accept this principle in part. So in the organization of the new school administration we face not a theory but a condition.

The school board as at present elected and organized represents the tax-payers of the community. Their business is first of all to guard the interests of those whom they are chosen to serve. They must keep taxes as low as possible by paying low wages and spending as little as they can for buildings and equipment.

They must also furnish contracts for the political grafters of the machine in power. Further than this their administration of the school system is now seeking to develop the school "plants" into factories for the production of cheap brains in the wages market. This matter we shall discuss more at length further on.

A Socialist school board will represent the parents of the working class children in the schools. It should be the chief work of such a board to serve as a connecting link between the school teachers and the school children on one hand and the community on the other. The school teachers, having legislated as to what kind of buildings, equipment and playgrounds, they need for their work, the school board should secure the funds and provide the said buildings, equipment and playgrounds. With that their work stops. While the board might well be given the veto as regards some features of school management, it should never assume the initiative. The government of the schools themselves, the course of study, in fact, the whole system of school organization

and administration, should be under the control of the teacher. For a committee of the school board to interfere with the general conduct of the school is as dangerous to their efficiency as for the board of directors of a railroad to tell a train crew how to run its train. As a matter of fact all the really valuable work of school administration is today performed by the school superintendents and their assistants. Wise school boards already keep their meddlesome hands out of affairs concerning which they can be but inadequately informed. Instead of having an autocratic school superintendent as at present, the Socialist school system would have such superintendents elected by and with the consent of the teachers to act only in connection with their central committee.

Nor does democracy cease with the all pervasive power of the teacher in school administration. The schools are established not for the teachers but for the children. The development of the free mind begins, of course, the day the child is born. The present is witnessing, for instance, the abolition of the club in the teaching of children. This is a revolution as great in its essence as the abolition of chattel slavery or of trials for heresy in religion. Children in really modern schools are now taught, individually and collectively, to rule themselves. The evolution of this method in teaching will make it in our generation a primal force in the movement of the workers for industrial freedom.

Boys and girls who practice democracy in the schools will not tolerate slavery in the shop.



HOMELESS MEN SLEEPING (?) ON FERRY BOATS—NIGHTLY SCENE—NEW YORK CITY.

The Catholic Church and the Unemployed

ON Friday night, March 6th, a crowd of over five hundred unemployed men stood for two hours in the chill drizzle of rain and snow on the streets of New York City because it had been announced that speakers would tell them how to improve their condition. Among these were Lincoln Steffens and Leonard Abbott, editor of *Current Opinion*, who declared that the arrest of some of the unemployed the night before was an outrage.

Frank Tannenbaum, a young man of twenty-one, a member of the I. W. W., had suggested that the starving fellows who could get no work should go to the churches and ask that they be permitted to sleep there or that, at least, some food be given them.

Several churches were appealed to and one and all gave SOME kind of assist-

ance to the men who appeared shivering, coatless, soxless and very often without underwear.

It was not until they appealed to the St. Alphonsus Roman Catholic Church that any real trouble began. The Catholic Church not only refused to give them any aid of any kind, but ejected them from the church and had many of the starving applicants arrested.

Young Tannenbaum was arraigned in the Jefferson Market Court and held over to the grand jury on a charge of inciting to riot. Magistrate Freschi ruled that the twenty-one year old boy was to be held responsible for every act on the part of the pleading group of workless unfortunates. Of the 190 arrested, all were diligently searched by the police and it was found that ONE man actually possessed money in his pockets. Now it is claimed

that Tannenbaum and his fellow-conspirator, Hamilton, have been making false pretences.

The trials of three members of the unemployed army were held before Magistrate Campbell. They were tried on a charge of disorderly conduct. Isador Wisotsky, who is nineteen years old, was given sixty days in the workhouse. The attorney who appeared for the prisoners said, "I think leniency should be shown this boy. He is young and I think we should be proud of him because of the interest he has taken in attempting to help solve the problem of the unemployed." But the judge was obdurate.

The second prisoner was a Catholic and received a sentence of only ten days.

During a wrangle between court and counsel over witnesses, the attorney said:

"These men are charged with disorderly conduct simply because they went to a church and asked for bread."

The papers say that the rest of the hungry men will be tried in batches of from fifteen to twenty.

A promise has been extended to many of these of getting off if they will swear to the names of those who suggested that the unemployed ask help from the churches.

The wife of one of the prisoners, with her baby, came to the court and begged that something be done for her and the child. It was found that her small household belongings had been set out upon the street.

Frank Tannenbaum did just what Jesus Christ would have done if he had been in New York. The men heard him and hoped that those who declare that all men are brothers would help them in their extremity. Some few churches actually DID see that they got at least ONE course of ONE square meal. It was the Catholic Church that gave their brothers a "stone," that had these unhappy men arrested and imprisoned.

The following account of the invasion of the church by the hungry men is taken from the *Live Issue*, a Catholic daily, published in New York City, under the guise of a reform sheet:

"Down the middle aisle the mob tramped, uttering boisterous and uncouth language. As

they reached the altar, Brother Adrian confronted them with trepidation and referred them to Father Schneider.

"My name is Tannenbaum," said the leader of the I. W. W. crowd. "We have come in here to sleep. Can we do it?"

"No, you cannot," replied Father Schneider.

"You cannot profane this church. The Blessed Sacrament is here. You must leave."

"We will die before we will let you stay," muttered Brother Peter, who stood near the priest.

"While this scene was being enacted in St. Alphonsus Church the telephone wire communicating with Police Commissioner McKay was busy. It developed that several detectives were in the midst of the crowd.

"One hundred and ninety-one prisoners were taken to the nearby stations.

"Tannenbaum was arraigned before Magistrate Campbell on the charge of inciting to riot and for unlawful entry. The magistrate fixed his bail at \$5,000 and that of the others at \$1,000."

Under the caption, "A Priest Starts the Machinery of Law," the *New York Sun* commented on the incident as follows:

"From the day when the Industrial Workers of the World first assailed the peace of the country the Catholic Church refused to be misled as to the purposes of this organization or to condone the methods of its leaders because of the professedly philanthropic objects of its crusade. In the latest manifestation of its revolutionary propaganda in this city it remained for a priest of the Catholic Church, first to assert the rights of order against disorder, to refuse to submit to its threats, and to treat its blackmailers as they deserve.

"Father Schneider's duty to his church jumped with his duty as a citizen. He failed in neither. He did not temporize or parley. He took with commendable promptness the one course that can end the menace that weak sentimentality has allowed to grow up in the city. He sent for the police, and the invaders of his church, with their mockeries of religion on their lips, were taken to the cells where they belonged.

"A priest has put in operation the machinery to suppress their portentous and carefully contrived onslaught on the institutions of law and order. It remains for the police and the courts to see that its authors receive punishment their conduct merits, in which notice will be served on all agitators that this city can and will defend its respectable population in peace and security."

"A fig for those by law protected!

Liberty's a glorious feast!

Courts for cowards were erected,

Churches built to please the priest."

Robert Burns.

US, THE HOBOES

Covington Hall

WE shall laugh to scorn your power that now holds the world in awe,
We shall trample on your customs and shall spit upon your law;
We shall come up from life's desert to your burdened banquet hall,
We shall turn your wine to wormwood, your honey into gall.

We shall go where wail the children, where from your race killing mills
Flows a bloody stream of profits to your cursed insatiate tills;
We shall tear them from your drivers in our shamed and angered pride
With the fury and the fierceness of a fatherhood denied.

We shall set our sisters on you, those you trapped into your hells,
Where the mother instinct's stifled and no earthly beauty dwells;
We shall call them from the living death—the death in life you gave,
To sing our class's triumph o'er your cruel system's grave.

We shall strip them of their epaulets, the panderers who fight
Your wars against the workers for a bone on which to bite.
We shall batter down your prisons, we shall set your chain-gangs free,
We shall drive you from the mountainside, the valley, plain and sea.

We shall hunt around the fences where your ox-men sweat and gape
Till they stampede down your stockades in their effort to escape;
We shall steal up through the darkness, we shall prowl the wood and town
Till they waken to their power and arise and ride you down.

We shall send a message to them on a whisper down the night,
We shall bid the warrior women drive the ox-men to the fight;
We shall use your guile against you—all the cunning you have taught—
All the wisdom of the serpent to attain the ending sought.

We shall come as comes the cyclone,—in the stillness we shall form,
From the calm your terror fashioned, we shall hurl on you the storm;
We shall strike when least expected—when you think toil's rout complete
And crush you and your hessians 'neath our brogan-shodded feet.

We shall laugh to scorn your power that now holds the world in awe,
We shall trample on your customs and shall spit upon your law;
We shall outrage all your temples,—we shall blaspheme all your gods,
We shall turn the old world over as a plowman turns the clods.

STUDY COURSE IN SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

LESSON IV—Continued

The Materialist Conception of History

By J. E. Sinclair

ELEVEN years after Marx and Engels first reached in a definite form the materialist conception of history Marx wrote in the introduction to the Critique of Political Economy, the following: "In making their livelihood men enter into certain involuntary relations with each other, industrial relations which correspond to whatever stage society has reached in the development of its material productive forces.

"The totality of these industrial relations constitutes the economic structure of society, the real basis upon which the legal and political superstructure is built, and to which definite forms of social consciousness correspond.

"The method of producing the material livelihood determines the social, political, and intellectual life process in general.

"It is not men's consciousness which determines their life; on the contrary, it is their social life which determines their consciousness.

"At a certain stage of their development the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the old conditions of production or, to use a legal expression, with the old property relations under which these forces have hitherto been exerted. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into fetters of production. Then begins an epoch of social revolution. With the change of the economic basis the whole vast superstructure undergoes sooner or later a revolution.

"The industrial relations rising out of the capitalist method of production constitute the last of the antagonistic forms of social production; antagonistic not in the sense of an individual antagonism, but of an antagonism growing out of the social conditions of individuals.

"But the productive forces which are developed in the lap of capitalist society create at the same time the material conditions needed for the abolition of this antagonism. The capitalist form of production, therefore, brings to a close this prelude to the history of human society."

But why this stress upon the materialist conception? Would it not be better to go ahead and plan the co-operative commonwealth? My dear utopian fellow worker, it has been told in a previous lesson how things went when some of the finest minds in the world planned co-operative commonwealths. You cannot monkey with social forces any more than a novice can play with electric wires. You must understand the laws that govern their operation. The materialist conception reveals to us the law of economic determinism and traces the sources of all social changes to their economic and historic origins. It shows us that no power is of any use to an oppressed class unless it first acquires control of industry. With this control the social superstructure reared by their former masters passes away, at least that part of it that ceases to function. "Active social forces," says Engels, "work exactly like natural forces; blindly, forcibly, destructively, so long as we do not understand and reckon with them."

Historical materialism teaches us that men ordinarily act in accordance with their economic interests when not under the influence of the ideals of some illusion. It reveals the nature of the illusions and forces that bind the working class in slavery. It teaches the working class to examine critically the morals, creeds, philosophies, laws, and institutions of the master class and to see in them instruments for the economic aggrandizement

of the masters. It teaches them to see their interests as a class in bitter conflict with the masters whose every gain is a loss to labor. It teaches them that the power behind the political throne is economic power that is born of the control of the means of production. It teaches them that their only hope for freedom is in so organizing themselves that they may control industry.

More than that, it points the way to victory. We have seen in a former lesson how the development of power production has brought about vast social changes, how it has made production a social process, how it has organized and officered the working class into vast armies of industry, how this wonderful technical development has created on one hand a vast army of the unemployed and on the other hand an owning class that, thanks to a technically trained working class, no longer functions in directing industry. In the economy of man as in the economy of nature when an organ ceases to function it must go. Senile decay is already setting in and the second generation of the master class is weaker morally than the first and the third is festering in corruption. All the workers now need is intelligent industrial solidarity. Economic forces have compelled the growth of a vast system of industrial production, socially operated by salaried superintendents and hired workers, but owned by social parasites. These same economic forces are now pressing the workers forward to victory. The seizure of industry is the secret of their emancipation.

Let me urge upon the student that he read very carefully Kautsky's "Ethics and the Materialist Conception." The last two chapters, "The Ethics of Darwinism" and "The Ethics of Marxism" are indispensable to an understanding of what the materialist conception means. The student should also read carefully the prefaces to the first volume of *Capital*, pages 11 to 39. Would it be infringing upon your patience to ask you to read again Engel's "Socialism Utopian and Scientific?" Ferri's "Socialism and Modern Science," especially the last chapter, is good. Lida Parce's "Economic Determinism" and Labriola's "Essay on the Materialistic Conception of History" are also worth careful study.

As this is being written three million men are starving, many of them with wives and children, here in America. What message have we as students for them? Shall we ask them to wait until the next election and then trust to the orderly, legal arrangement of their food getting? Shall we send them to the sanctuary of some god or to the blood stained chambers of government for immediate relief? Or shall we apply the facts that we have learned? Shall we show them that their only hope is the acquisition of industrial power, that the ethics of the master class, the laws of the master class, the government of the master class are just so many links in the chain that binds them? They are hungry. They cannot wait or they will die! As I sit here far off among the giant forests of Washington, idle men go past my window, hungry men call at the back door for bread; and from the hell holes of industrial infernos of the East come wafted on every breeze the cry of the anemic child, the cry of the little one gone to a cold bed hungry. Fellow students, what shall we tell these people to do? Patience to starve in the presence of that bursting warehouse! Patience to study on an empty stomach! These are capitalist virtues especially constructed for the working class. Is our Socialist philosophy helpless in the face of hungry men? Three million hungry men divested of all respect for capitalist ethics need not starve. The materialist conception points the way to food getting even in emergencies. In the class war we ask no quarter. The whole power of capitalism is now organizing for our destruction. My utopian Socialist comrade, what shall we tell these hungry men to do?

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

For the student who has the money, the following books will not be amiss: "The History of Great American Fortunes," 3 volumes, by Myers (published by Kerr & Company, \$1.50 per volume); "The Workers in American History," by Oneal (Kerr & Company, paper 50 cents, cloth \$1.00); "Industrial History of the United States," by Coman (published by Macmillan Company, New York, price \$1.50); "An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States," by Beard (Macmillan Company, New York, price \$2.25); "Industrial History of the United States," by Bogart.

The student must by this time have come to recognize the fact that a knowledge of the industrial development of any given period of history is basic and imperative if we wish to understand anything of the political, intellectual, and artistic life of the time. The effect, for instance, even of the invention of the cotton gin on industrial England and its political life, its effect on the slavery question, on religion, and even on chemical research can be traced. We can also see as we study this one invention how it came about as the result of other inventions as a sort of historical product, answering imperative needs. The effect of the application of steam power to industry was almost incalculable. In the first volume of Marx' *Capital* you will find a careful study of the machine process and its effects upon society. Chapters XIV and XV are the best to study now.

Topics for essays, short speeches, or discussion: Social changes made possible by the discovery and use of fire. 2. Effect of the domestication of animals. 3. Shattering the ancient freedom. 4. The inevitability of slavery. 5. The beginning of politics. 6. The materialism of Epicurus. 7. Stoicism and Christianity. 8. The ethics of Darwinism. 9. The animal origin of the social impulses. 10. The roots of the materialist conception. (See "Ethics and the Materialist Conception of History," by Kautsky, page 105 to 123.) 11. Social evolution and technical development. 12. Economic reasons for the changing tenets of morality. 13. Social needs and moral standards. 14. Economic reasons for the French Revolution. 15. Economic reasons for the American Revolution. 16. The great man theory in history making. 17. Organic evolution and the materialist conception. 18. Why the Constitution of the United States is a dead letter.

Questions for review: (Write the answers to these before the club meets. First, read everything that you can get your hands on that in any way deals with the subject.) 1. Give examples of social impulses among animals. 2. What relation exists between these and food getting? 3. What do you understand by conscience? 4. If men act in accordance with their economic interests, why do the working class permit others to live on them? 5. In what way do you explain the existence of the feudal church in a capitalist age? 6. Do ideas always keep pace with technical progress and economic evolution? 7. Do institutions always adapt themselves readily to industrial changes? Give illustrations. 8. Under what illusions do the working class labor today? 9. Compare the Eskimo moral tenets with those of civilized society. Wherein do they differ? 10. What relation exists between religion and

morality? 11. Does industry control politics or does politics control industry? 12. Can President Wilson and Congress "control" the trusts? 13. Can any president or congress abolish the trusts? 14. According to the materialist conception of the State is a superstructure reared above and dependent upon a system of exploitation? The State is thus a sort of by-product of present capitalist industry. Then where would the workers wield the most power, by controlling industry through an economic organization that aimed at emancipation of the workers or through political action that aimed at the same results? 15. In the world as we find it today, which force is the stronger, the officers of the government or the captains of industry? Give proof for your answer. 16. Compare the work of Marx with that of Morgan in regard to historical materialism. 17. Is the development of technic sufficient to explain the social organism of any given period? If not, what other factors enter into the shaping of ideas and institutions? 18. Is human nature the same in all ages? 19. The church is a part of the superstructure of capitalist society. Would you advise the workers to capture it so as to help on the work of emancipation? 20. If the state is in part an economic power, is not the ballot box a weapon for the workers? 21. Should the worker ignore any method that may hasten their day of freedom?

Questions for debate: Resolved, That industrial development has been the dominant factor in history.

2. Resolved, That the present stage of social evolution makes an industrial democracy a necessity in order that there may be further progress.

3. Resolved, That this industrial democracy can be brought into being simply by passing laws favorable to the workers.

4. Resolved, That the militant workers should not be allowed to discuss militant methods of emancipation, but should confine their discussions to methods for capturing the now corrupt capitalist state.

5. Resolved, That political power is worthless without a militant industrial organization.

6. Resolved, That the starving workers who are now thronging our cities should be organized for mutual aid and for the stifling of capitalist industry until they can be fed.

7. Resolved, That it is wrong for a starving worker to steal or to violate any of the laws made by the capitalists who profit by his misery.

8. Resolved, That the materialist conception of history is a necessary part of the mental equipment of every revolutionist.

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EXPRESS PREPAID



CATHERINE BRESHKOVSKY

THE GRANDMOTHER OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

By E. Roubanovitch

IN a few months, at the International Congress, in Vienna, we are going to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the first International. I wonder whether there is today, within the thirty national sections of the second International, one single figure which incarnates more completely our world-wide movement than that of the "grand old woman" who bears the name of Catherine Breshkovsky and whose seventieth birthday has brought together all Russian Socialists and caused them to set aside for a few days at least their theoretical discussions and distinctions.

Risen from the ranks of the highest nobility, the daughter of a Polish boyard and a Russian princess, Breshkovsky was nineteen years old when serfdom was abolished and since that day she has given herself body and soul to the service of the people.

For the first six years of her militant career she shared the illusions of the intellectuals of the period and, trusting the liberal sympathies expressed by the government, never overstepped the boundaries of "law and order" in her propaganda work.

But, when she came to understand that

the actions of the property-owning classes were but a sham and a lie, behind which was hidden the horrible exploitation of man by man, then Breshkovsky, who was acquainted with the principles of the first International, with the ideas of its leaders, the doctrines of Marx and specially the ideals of Michael Bakunin, became inspired by the heroic example of the men and women of the Commune. She left her class, SIMPLIFIED HERSELF and went to the people for the propaganda of the class struggle and through word and deed she appealed to the people to revolt against a social and political system based upon the exploitation of labor.

She became a revolutionary Socialist. Her organization, which started with some ten members, soon became so numerous that the government was compelled to mobilize the police in 34 provinces to arrest its leaders. It took the government three years, during which all of the suspects were kept in prison, to select from the incarcerated comrades 193 special victims, and at the head of these the first place belonged to Catherine Breshkovsky.

This happened in 1878. Sentenced to the penitentiary with ten of her comrades, Breshkovsky drew up the now famous will in which she bequeaths to the youth of forthcoming generations as a holy legacy the task of bringing to an end the mission which she assumed in 1870. Then she went, loaded with chains, through the stages of that terrible journey so wonderfully described by Tolstoi, to that Siberia from where so few come back.

But the Socialist movement was not brought to a standstill by this persecution. Zemlia I. Volia, Navodnaia Volia, Social Democracy, Revolutionary Socialism, such are the various phases through which the movement passes and in which Breshkovsky, from the depth of the penitentiary and the seclusion of her deportation, takes a leading though indirect part.

After twenty-two years of this infernal life, worse than death itself, Breshkovsky recovers her liberty. Then we see an old woman respectfully and lovingly nick-

named by her comrades, "Babouchka" (the grandmother), starting the battle anew with the enthusiasm of youth in order to fulfill the life-work she assumed a quarter of a century ago, the propaganda of the principles of international and revolutionary Socialism amongst the peasants.

The historian of the future will tell of the superhuman task accomplished by this wonderful woman. Be it enough for us to state that that part of the Russian reports presented to the International Congresses of Amsterdam and Stuttgart, which concerns the peasants, was written by Catherine Breshkovsky.

For obvious reasons connected with the special character of the Russian movement I cannot enter into details as to the nature of the activity of our comrade within the party. At the very moment where the whole of willing, thinking and struggling Russia is going to unite in a celebration of her seventieth anniversary, she is in jail. "Babouchka" is closely watched by armed soldiers and probably on the eve of receiving an additional sentence for the attempted escape which stirred the civilized world a few months ago.

Arrested by the police in 1907 through the interference of the ignoble secret service man and "agent provocateur" Azef, Breshkovsky was sentenced in 1909 to deportation for life in Siberia and removed to Kirensk, of which her presence alone made the holy city of political exile. From there she tried to escape to carry to the world the recital of the terrible sufferings which the Socialist exiles are compelled to endure.

The whole Socialist International will, no doubt, join the Russian section in its united feeling of love and respect for this heroically courageous woman, and send her brotherly and enthusiastic greetings of comradeship, while expressing the wish that she may soon recover her liberty for the good of the toilers of city and country to whom she has dedicated all the resources of a personality so wonderfully endowed with noble thoughts and the unselfish devotion wanted to realize them.

ORATORY

By John P. Altgeld

FROM THE PUBLIC

(Continued from the March Review)

PART TWO

Abstemiousness

SELF-DENIAL and self-control are essential to achievement. Great endurance is impossible where there is great indulgence. Cold water, temperate habits and exercise give firm fiber and a clear brain.

The appetites give no inspiration and kindle no fires, and their free gratification weakens the body and chokes the soul. Stimulants do not feed, they do not build; they simply borrow of the future; they simply consume.

Oratory demands the greatest possible service by the higher faculties. Where these are stupefied by indulgence, or the body is weakened by dissipation, no great height can be reached.

All these things considered, I should say let liquor alone. Under no circumstances touch it just before speaking. Speaking is itself a stimulant; and if a man is master of his subject, the mere act of talking will soon make his soul glow.

If in addition to this he takes an artificial stimulant, the effect of his double stimulation will be to burn up his vitality at once, and at the end of twenty minutes he will be exhausted and will simply gasp and flounder through the remainder of his discourse.

If, at the conclusion of the speech, the speaker finds that his clothes are wet with perspiration and he is exposed to danger of taking cold, then a little stimulant may be taken to advantage.

But even this must be done with caution, otherwise the stimulant will burn up more vitality and leave him in a still more exhausted condition, so that when he steps on the platform the next day he will do inferior work.

Avoid drinking water during a speech for it will injure the throat. Never wrap or muffle the neck when out of doors for this opens the pores and exposes to cold. Simply turning the overcoat collar up against it is all the protection it needs, and this leaves the air free to circulate around it.

The speaker's vitality must be treated like a bank account. It should be drawn on with great caution and then replenished at once. A recumbent position is necessary for quick restoration. Whenever a speaker has an hour's time during a campaign let him go to bed and sleep if possible.

The exigencies of his art demand excellence. This requires the highest possible service by every faculty, and if there has been an expenditure of nerve force—whether by labor or by indulgence—which has not been completely replaced, then some of his faculties will not fully respond, and the speech will drop to the grade of mere utilitarian talk.

When on the road during a campaign a speaker must practice as severe a regimen as a prizefighter who is in training. He must be careful about his diet, his sleep, all his habits. Otherwise the irregularity and exposure incident to such a life will soon so jade him that he will give only a common sort of draft-horse performance. He must be as fastidious about himself and his speech as a prima donna is about herself and her song.

Hospitality

When on the road, speaking one or more times every day, a speaker cannot accept hospitality. If he does his speeches at once drop to a lower level. As a rule if he will lock the door of his room at a

hotel he can rest better and make himself more free and at home than he can at the house of a friend.

If, after speaking at night, instead of going to bed, he accepts an invitation to the club and chats for an hour and takes a drink or two, his speech the next day will be inferior. *Isolation is the price of greatness, and the stars are all the friends an orator needs.*

Handshaking

Always avoid the crowd. Only candidates are required to submit to promiscuous handshaking.

A half hour's handshaking before speaking will so reduce the vitality, or take the fine edge off the nerve system, as to make the speech tame.

Let the speaker constantly bear in mind that the very people who exhaust him with their handshaking will not forgive him for making a poor speech. He is there to talk, not to shake hands. He should never apologize for being ill, or unprepared. An audience wants to hear a speech, not an apology.

Clothes

The speaker should be so dressed that neither he nor his audience will be made conscious of that fact that he is wearing clothes. He must dress plainly and neatly. New clothes or very poor clothes are apt to attract the consciousness of both speaker and audience, and thus weaken the effect.

Censorship of Speeches

Theatrical troupes and opera troupes rehearse almost daily in order to keep up the tone of the performance. While this is not practicable in the case of public speakers it would greatly increase the reputation of every speaker and help his cause, besides benefiting the public, if he could be accompanied by a severe critic who would carefully note his delivery and afterwards require him to rehearse those parts that were not well delivered.

When a speaker has been engaged in a campaign for some days his sentences get as badly out of form as his body; and his words, like his clothes, get road-worn and dusty. The high finish, the delicate touches, the pathos and the fine sentiments disappear. How guard against this?

While he must adapt himself to the needs of the occasion, and cannot always tell just how much time he will have or what topics he can discuss, he can resolve that whatever he does shall be done well.

When both body and mind are tired inspiration lags, and a special effort must be made. The mind needs food on the road as well as the body; and it is necessary for a speaker to read each day at least a page of polite literature so as to imbibe the spirit of the author, or else read a short discussion of some great principle so as to get elevation of thought, and thus keep his own speech on high ground.

Lawyers

"If our sole material for thought is derived from law cases the gloss of our oratory must of necessity be rubbed off, its joints must grow stiff, and the points of its wit be blunter by daily encounters."

So wrote Quintilian eighteen hundred years ago, and this language has more force today than it had then.

The matter-of-fact proceedings in our courts have a constant tendency to sink to the level of wrangling, which makes the countenance hard and the mind crabbed and unfit for great achievement.

To overcome this lowering tendency, the ancient advocates studied poetry, dialogue, history, painting, sculpture, nature, and whatever tended to ennoble the mind. Nothing better has ever been suggested, and some such course is vital.

Other things being equal the lawyer who does this will, in a few years, greatly distance his companion who does not do it, for the latter will not only cease to grow but will shrivel.

It is a fatal mistake to suppose that the business of the courts no longer calls for oratory. The style has indeed changed, but the essence is as much in demand as ever.

A clear, forceful, eloquent and convincing talk to either court or jury is more needed now, and will produce greater results and larger rewards, than at any other time in the history of jurisprudence.

Great Subject—Pettifoggery

The subject-matter of a speech must be great or there can be no oratory. Great principles of justice, of government, or of human happiness, must be involved.

The speaker must appeal to what is just, what is elevated, and what is noble in man.

A covert defense of wrong, no matter how shrewd or adroit or clever, can never command respect.

Pettifogging is always on a low plane; instead of elevating and ennobling both speaker and audience as oratory does, pettifogging shrivels, belittles and degrades.

No man who is willing, for fee or reward, for promotion or honors, to act the part of a pettifogger, can ever stand for one moment on the great platform of oratory.

Sincerity and intense earnestness are the essence of oratory, and the mind that is trained to make a plausible defense of a doubtful case unconsciously loses this essence. *The orator must be absolutely independent, even though he have neither bread to eat nor shoes to wear. Great manhood must go with great oratory.*

In America we have a class of men who are called corporation lawyers. They are men of force, ability and shrewdness, and are employed by the corporations because they are recognized as strong lawyers. (I am not speaking of lobbyists.) Many of these men before entering the service of corporations gave promise of eloquence, but none of them has risen to the plane of oratory. Even when brilliant and on the right side, there is something about their efforts that smacks of insincerity. While these positions have been sought because the salaries are large, I believe the judgment of mankind will be that these able men paid too much for their pottage.

Justice, Not Expediency

Justice, not expediency, must be the guiding light. The orator must fix his eye on the pole-star of justice, and plough

straight thither. The moment he glances toward expediency he falls from his high estate.

The world's great pathos is on the side of the masses who are doing the world's work and making civilization possible. They are the children of God.

The orator must feel their sufferings, their sorrows, and their joys. Here alone does soul respond to soul.

The men who eat bread that is earned by the sweat of other men's brows are unresponsive and incapable of high sentiment or deep pathos.

Wealth and fashion may be inviting and present a beautiful picture, but the divine fires do not burn there.

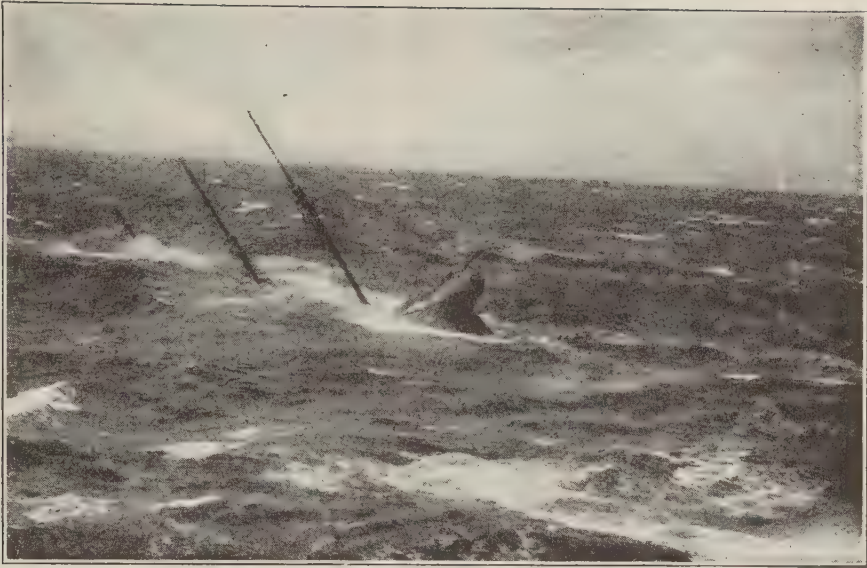
All the great speeches ever delivered were protests against injustice and appeals for the public welfare. Generally they were on the losing side. Defeat is often the baptism of immortality. James Russell Lowell summed up the whole history of civilization when he penned the lines:

Truth forever on the scaffold, wrong forever on the throne—
But that scaffold sways the future, and behind the dim unknown
Standeth God within the shadow, keeping watch upon His own.

Let the would-be orator remember that he lives but once in this world, and therefore cannot afford to waste any time or effort on behalf of injustice, for it will pull him down. He breathes the atmosphere of the plane on which he stands, and if that plane be low the poisons will destroy him.

If he would reach the highest estate possible on this earth he must stand resolutely with his face toward the sun; and when the cry of oppressed humanity calls for sacrifice he must promptly say, "Here, Lord, am I."

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The Only Case Where Sailors Have a "Right to Quit."

CLASS STRUGGLE NEWS

The New Seamen's Bill.—There goes a wise saying amongst the French seafarer that is: "The Revolution has passed, but the galley slave stayed"; this is true not only in France but all the world over.

While the workers on land have wrestled themselves out of serfdom, the seamen by international laws are still attached to and transferred with the ship until she reaches the home port, which gives the sailors a chance to be attached to another ship.

The main causes are that labor struggles for the betterment of working conditions cannot be fought in mid-ocean and that the sailors have practically no right to vote.

There is now a bill pending before the Congress that might bring some changes for the better. Considering that this bill comes from a capitalist government, it is clear that it has not been made to help the seamen, but to give new life to the American shipowners; the seamen benefit incidentally from it, because it cannot be helped.

The main feature of this new bill is to give the American ship owners an equal chance for the first time since 60 years by cancelling certain special privileges now enjoyed by the foreign merchant marine in competition with American ships.

The case is thus: The economic law governing wages of seamen is exactly the same as that governing wages of any other class of workers. Their wages depend upon the

port in which they are hired and sign shipping articles, regardless of the nationality of the vessel, and the wages in that port depend upon the standards of living in the country where the port is located.

Imagine two ships, one flying the American flag, the other a foreign flag, moored at the same dock in New York. The crew of the American vessel has been hired in New York at American wages, that of the foreign ship in some low wage port in Italy or Spain. The two crews come into contact, each discovering the wages and conditions of the other.

What is the natural result? Unless prevented by force, the crew of the foreign vessel would either get the same wages as paid on the American vessel or they would quit. The foreign shipowner would then have to hire a new crew at the wages of the port, not as the result of any organized action by the men, but as the result of individual desire inherent in human nature to improve one's lot.

The foreign owner would have gained no advantage by his refusal to pay higher wages to the crew he brought here. Under such conditions ordinary business sense would quickly induce him to pay his crew in accordance with American standards, in advance of arrival in an American port, as the only way to retain their services and thus avoid the cost involved in delaying his vessel to hire a new crew.

Now the "special privileges" are the means by which, while in our ports, foreign ships are enabled to forcibly hold the crews secured at the lower wage rates of foreign ports. Under treaties and statutes, the U. S. Government uses its police powers, at the request of foreign ship owners, to capture and return seamen who attempt to quit the service of "their ships." Thus the wage rate of foreign ships is forcibly kept lower than that prevailing at American ports.

In case this new bill becomes law, the sailors hired at low foreign wages, will have the "right to quit" in the American ports, and this is why foreign ship owners and Americans interested in foreign ships, so furiously attack the bill.—By E. F. Drednov.

Catering Workers.—E. L. Pratt, formerly of South Africa, now in England, where he is working for an International Federation for Hotel Workers, has sent us a copy of his lively little propaganda booklet on the Miseries of the Hotel Worker and How to Cure Them. He also sent us a short article on this subject which lack of space compels us to cut down. He says: "Intelligent trade unionism has learned most from its own failures. Let there be no mistake about the ultimate futility of sectional and isolated strikes. The 'down dishes' and 'down napkins' campaign may have forced better conditions for a time; in one or two areas a lasting impression has been made. Even with the aid of our most powerful organization, the campaign failed of its main objects. The hotel trusts were stronger than the hotel slaves. The small union is helpless. The unsupported strike a ridiculous fiasco. We are forced now to work for a great International Federation by which we can forge an unbreakable chain of our interests as workers throughout the whole world.

"How greatly times have changed in the last few years is proved by the fact that the employers are blessing and in some cases, actively supporting what they style "old style trade-unionism." No doubt the trade unionist has no objection to the "old style employers." But the one-gun capitalist no longer exists. The hotel and restaurant trusts are concentrating their resources more firmly every year. We have to remember that the greatest asset of capitalism is the ignorance and division of the WORKERS. We must set our faces against the suicidal practice of splitting our forces into independent, and often 'hostile,' groups. We cannot afford to be independent of each other.

"Of what use is it to fight for a standard in the hotel trade of London which may be flouted in Paris and ignored in New York? While the employers are able to recruit their staffs from almost every capital in the world, it is our business to have an efficient organization in every capital in the world, pledged to maintain the standard and present a fighting front to the enemy. We want to congratulate Comrade E. L. Pratt and the comrades in Africa for the splendid movement they are

forwarding. We feel sure the hotel workers in England and America will be interested in joining the International Federation. Mention this to your hotel working friends and ask them to root for One Big Union at all their local meetings."

The I. W. W. and the Shingle Weavers.—A great strike is looming up here on the coast. A year ago the Shingle Weavers' Union benevolently took all the loggers and mill workers under their "jurisdiction." While many of those in the move were actuated by a certain class consciousness, there was undoubtedly behind the scenes a plot to head off the I. W. W. in the logging industry where they were growing rapidly. But the I. W. W. fighters joined the new organization and still kept their I. W. W. cards up their sleeves. The result has been a boring from within that really has bored. At the last convention the demand for an eight-hour day was too much for the stand-patters of the old piece-working scab school and it was decided A. F. of L. fashion to call a strike on the first of next May. This fairness to the employers was very gentlemanly.

The employers, finding in the coast cities hordes of unemployed, tried a new stunt. They began organizing hobo unions. At public expense or at their own expense buildings were donated to these unions and every encouragement given them to go ahead and organize every "hobo." Even the sentimental Socialists thought that this was the beginning of heaven here on earth.

Not so the I. W. W. This heroic bunch saw an opportunity. One by one the members slipped into the hobo union until a good chorus of rebel voices was heard singing in the hobo union.

During the last two weeks, however, it has transpired that the manufacturers had been counting all the time on the hobo union to scab during the eight-hour day strike that was due to arrive per schedule. In Everett, the Robinson Manufacturing Company started in firing their regular union employes. Then the remodeled Shingle Weavers' Union declared a strike. Over two hundred men walked out. An invitation was extended by Robinson to the Hobo Union to step in and scab. But nothing doing. The idea of solidarity had been fully developed. Not a man responded.

I consider this the most hopeful thing that I have seen for years. In the meantime the International Union of Shingle Weavers, Millmen and Woodsmen is developing revolutionary strength and clearness that accounts for a new bitterness that is developing among the masters.

The Case of the Hop Pickers.—All California is up and in arms over the case of the Hop Pickers. The unions of San Francisco alone have contributed over \$1,000 to their defense at a new trial. And organized and unorganized labor everywhere is collecting funds to help the convicted boys along.

Recently an invaluable contribution to the

facts about the causes of the Wheatland Hop Pickers' Strike and the responsibility of the Durst Brothers therefor, has appeared in the report of Dr. Carleton H. Parker, of the California Commission on Immigration and Housing and professor of economics at the University of California.

With the public mind aghast at the revelations in this report of the indignities forced upon the unorganized and helpless hop pickers at the inhuman greed of the Durst Bros., reformers, scientists and political leaders and politicians alike are pledging themselves to the abolition of such conditions.

But the men, Ford and Suhr, without whose acknowledged courage, brains and leadership such conditions, would still be unnoticed by those in positions of power—these two men are condemned to the living death of life imprisonment. The following quotations are taken from the report on the Durst Ranch, made to Governor Johnson of California:

"There were about 2,800 men, women and children camped on a low, unshaded hill. The estimates for women and children vary from 1,000 to 1,500. Many of the children were infants in arms. A great number of the hop pickers had no blankets and slept on piles of straw thrown onto tent floors. Before these were ready, many slept in the fields. One group of 45 women and children slept closely packed together on a single pile of straw. At least one-half the campers were absolutely destitute and those who got an opportunity to work were forced to cash in their checks each evening to feed tent companions.

There were probably nine toilets for 2,800 people. By the end of the second day the seats, scantlings and floors were covered by a semi-fluid mass of filth. Children were seen about the camp in an unspeakably filthy condition since it was not possible for them to use any toilet without befouling themselves. An important part of the hop fields were more than a mile away from the wells but despite the heat, no water was transported to the pickers. By noon under the hot sun beating down on the still air held between the rows of vines the 200 to 300 children were in a pitiable condition because of lack of water." All signs point to a popular awakening in California that shall secure the release of the convicted boys.

From Ireland—Jack Carney of the Irish Transport Workers' Union sends the following

letter which we think is more than worth while to reprint in the REVIEW: "I see friend Bohn has been dealing with the conference of December 9. He has been grossly unfair in his article, due, I believe to an insufficient knowledge of the facts. He writes about Jim Larkin condemning the trade union leaders here and would leave one to, suppose that Larkin had no reason for so attacking them.

"When the Irish workers had been three weeks locked out and at a time when every support was needed, we had the trade union leaders stumping the country denouncing our methods, J. H. Thomas, M. P., and Williams, of the National Union of Railwaymen, advising men not to have anything to do with our trouble, in other words, to scab like hell. They were told this was no affair of theirs.

"We had the spectacle of Philip Snowden, M. P., writing to the capitalist press denouncing our methods. We had Havelock Wilson advising men to work with scabs and, in fact, the men of his union did some of the scabbing. We had some trade unionists, like the Society of Carpenters and Joiners, building shops with blackleg timber. In fact, every trade union outside our own, was ENGAGED IN ASSISTING THE DUBLIN EMPLOYERS.

"The spirit that aroused men to send food ships was fine, but the spirit of the leaders who kept the rank and file at their work, was hellish. There are still over 4,000 men and women locked out. If the workers of Great Britain could only realize the true faith of solidarity, the dispute would long since have been settled.

"Some day the workers will realize that the day of CRAFT organization will have to give way to the day of CLASS organization. My God! the workers here have had enough experience to show them the failure of SECTIONAL UNIONISM. Friend Bohn says the conference was one of the tragedies of the labor movement. It WAS a tragedy. Here was an opportunity for the workers to show the capitalist class their real strength. But no; the capitalist press described it as a gathering of sane delegates.' Need I say more?

"I have traveled England up and down in behalf of Dublin and come in contact with the rank and file and know how they were bamboozled. The conference was a meeting of undelegated delegates. If any of your readers care to help Dublin—then Liberty Hall, Dublin, will find all dollars sent."





Using the Dictating Machine.

MODERN OFFICE MACHINERY

By

James E. Griffith

THE business phonograph, a machine made expressly for the purpose of handling correspondence, is now used in most large offices to replace the shorthand writer. It records the dictator's voice on a wax record, which is then taken from the dictating machine and placed on the machine of a transcriber, who proceeds to type the matter recorded on the record. An economical shaving device can be purchased with the phonographs and the records can be shaved and re-used one hundred times, so that the cost of the records really does not amount to more than the cost of supplying notebooks to the shorthand writer.

ONE OF THESE DICTATING MACHINES, COSTING EXACTLY ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS REPLACES PERPETUALLY IN A MODERN OFFICE, ONE EXPERT STENOGRAPHER, COSTING ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS A MONTH. THERE ARE AT LEAST A DOZEN OTHER MACHINES NOW COMING INTO COMMON USE WHOSE EFFECT IS TO THROW OFFICE WORKERS OFF THE SALARY LIST AND INTO THE STARVATION ARMY.

These machines are causing an entire revolution in the method of handling correspondence and also in scientific office management. The plaint of the business man who had stenographic work to be

done was that he was unable to find high grade stenographers. But the modern office manager, the "scientific efficiency expert," in the application of "scientific office management" to his business, has found how to avoid this difficulty.

Machines the Solution

The shorthand reporters of the courts throughout the country had long since discovered a solution of the problem of inefficient stenographic help which faced the business man. When the reporter was in court for four or five hours taking shorthand notes it was necessary for him to spend three or four times that long to transcribe them himself. Or it was necessary to sit at the side of a typist and dictate to her. Of course, this latter method was inconvenient to the reporter, because he had to waste almost as much time waiting for the typist to "catch up" as it would take him to transcribe the notes. And the strain of taking and reading his own notes made it almost impossible for a busy reporter to transcribe them himself.

In searching for a solution of his problem, he became acquainted with the phonograph or dictating machine. He found that by simply reading his notes into one of these machines, as fast as he could talk, and sending the records as they were finished to typists—who would put them on other phonographs set to reproduce the dictation—he could divide

his work up so that two or three typists would be transcribing at the same time he was dictating, and he would thus be able to finish up his work in a very rapid and efficient manner.

So, likewise, the office manager found that the dictating machine would solve his problem. But unlike the court reporter he was not willing to pay a good salary for this character of work. The very nature of the service required by the reporter made it economical and necessary for him to hire the highest grade typists and to pay them on a piece-work basis, because of the fact that speed and absolute accuracy were the first essentials of his profession. He could only get the kind of service he required by making such an arrangement. On the other hand, the office manager found that where it formerly took the services of five fifteen-dollar-a-week men or women, making a total expenditure of seventy-five dollars a week for stenographic help, he could now hire five girls at a salary of eight dollars a week. And by having them use the phonographs, these eight-dollar-a-week girls would turn out as much work as the high grade stenographers had been able to do, and at a saving of thirty-five dollars a week in his expense account.

Half the Stenographers Lose Jobs

Or the office manager could dismiss half of his force of experienced stenographers and the remainder would be able to do as much work as the whole force had formerly done, using the dictating machines. He found that by buying enough of the machines to keep the operators busy at all times, he could thus increase the work produced *one hundred per cent*. The operator's whole time was now occupied in transcribing dictation, and transcription from the machines could be carried out at a considerably more rapid rate than from either notes or copy. And in addition to this he found that the phonograph would record dictation at a much faster rate than any stenographer could, and reproduce it with absolute accuracy. It always "got you." It never missed a tense—it never skipped a syllable. It could not transpose. And in addition to that it was always "on the job" day and night, to take his dictation whenever he desired it, and the records could be turned over to the typist during

the day, and thus keep the typist busy from the time she reported at the office in the morning until she went home at night. The office manager can now make a machine of the operator. When the operator reports in the morning, regardless of when the boss arrives, she immediately goes to work and transcribes the "canned" notes until lunch time; after luncheon the work is resumed and the typing is continued until quitting time.

If the typist does not want to become a machine and complains, the manager simply says, "Well, you can quit, I can easily find somebody to fill your shoes." And so he can. He simply has to call the typewriter company's office, and the employment department will put him in touch with another typist within a half hour. There are hundreds waiting at all times, and all glad of an opportunity to go to work.

There are now in operation, in Greater New York alone, more than twenty thousands of these business phonographs. The stenographers and typists, realizing the dawn of a new era, are forced to overcome their dislike to being made machines of, and a great many of the most competent, educated shorthand writers are now forced to do phonographic transcription work, because of their inability



Transcribing Notes.

to secure positions as short-hand writers which pay a living wage. The regime of the stenographer, excepting, of course, the professional reporter, is surely passing.

But the modern office manager has not alone confined his attention to the stenographer and typist. He has made his inroads into the clerical and bookkeeping forces as well.

And here again machinery has been his greatest aid. One addressing machine with an office boy to operate it, will replace the services of a dozen clerks who addressed envelopes by hand. The machines for the reproduction of facsimile typewritten letters have entirely revolutionized the circulation departments of large offices. One of the machines will replace dozens of typists. And office boys can operate them efficiently. The adding and calculating machines have likewise caused similar changes in the accounting departments.

The invention of modern bookkeeping systems has almost eliminated the ordinary old-time bookkeeper. This position in the modern office is now filled by mere clerks. And dealing, as each clerk does, with only a certain portion of the accounting, and then reporting summaries to a confidential head accountant, the firm's affairs are only at the disposal of this head accountant.

These conditions lessen the opportunities for the trained bookkeeper, unless he can qualify as an expert accountant, by lessening the number of real bookkeeping positions to be filled, and increasing the number of positions in the accounting departments of large corporations which can now be filled by untrained help at considerably lower salaries than it would be necessary to pay to trained men.



A BATTERY OF TRANSCRIBERS AT WORK.

The "clerk" does not need be able to figure accurately, or even to write a legible hand. He has machinery to do all of this for him. He simply needs be a machine operator. And the machines are so simple that anyone can operate them. The only essential requirement of the clerk is that he be able to read. He can learn to be as efficient in a few weeks through the use of modern office machinery as if he had put in years of study at mathematics, penmanship and business practice. The head accountant will supply the business practice for him, and the machines will write and calculate for him.

And so, if, on a stormy winter night, you should chance to walk down and scrutinize the faces of the men in the bread line, you will see among the long-shoremen and the teamsters, the stenographer and high class accountant, each glad to get his midnight chunk of bread and tin cup of black coffee. And don't forget! For each man in the bread line there are two girl stenographers out of a job, shivering in some hallway over night, "cleaning up" in some public washroom and hurrying with empty stomachs and aching hearts to the employment agency of the typewriter company or the Y. W. C. A. Vain hope! Her job is gone, and gone forever—while the machines are owned by the capitalist class.

EDITORIAL

Why We Look Ahead and Smile

THERE is a popular superstition to the effect that Socialists are gloomy prophets of evil and woe. But this is a ridiculous mistake.

Socialists as a class are the most optimistic people on earth, and with good reason. By Socialists, in this connection, we mean not those who happened to vote the Socialist ticket last election; we mean those who understand what the Socialist movement means and are fighting for it.

We Socialists look ahead and smile because Marx and Engels have taught us certain things about the motives of human actions that as yet are not generally understood, and are particularly misunderstood by the average priest or preacher and the average politician.

Now listen; it may seem a little hard to grasp at first, but get a good hold of it and it will make a thousand things clear to you that now seems badly mixed.

People's ideas of right and wrong, also the sort of government they set up, the religion they invent or accept, and the social customs they observe,—all these are directly related to and changed by the changing methods in which these same people get a living. Change the way in which people get their food, their clothing, their shelter, and you will change their whole outlook on life.

People are surprisingly alike in many, many things, and the better we know them the more points of likeness we find. All "good" people want to eat frequently. So do "bad" people. In the latitude of Chicago all villains want clothes, so do heroes. Few indeed there are who don't "know enough to come in when it rains," always supposing they have a place to "come in." Every brilliant man who finds himself without such a place thinks about ways and means to get it. So do all dull men who are not total idiots.

Every normal man through the greater part of his life feels strongly attracted toward the opposite sex. He may

through education or religious belief be ashamed of this attraction, but he feels it. Most women feel a corresponding attraction, though this is sometimes suppressed through early training. Finally, nearly every mother feels an overwhelming instinct to care for her child.

All these instincts are necessary to the continuance of the human race. People who do not share them are not likely to survive long enough to leave offspring; thus the instincts tend to become fixed in the race through heredity. And it is to be observed that whenever certain people find it possible to gratify these instincts only with a good deal of difficulty, their thoughts are mainly taken up with ways and means for gratifying them, and they think of little else. On the other hand, when life is easy for any large class of people, experience shows that some of them will use their surplus energy in a way to increase the sum of human knowledge and human happiness.

But the great mass of people, the ones who really do the things that make social changes, care very little about theories of any kind. They are too busy chasing jobs or fighting for better pay and shorter hours. Yet all the while their daily struggle for material things is making them over from contented slaves into restless world-builders.

"You can't change human nature," say the reactionaries. No, *you* can't change it, but the machine process can change it and is changing it. Until Ivan Slavinski was twenty years old, he worked on his father's little farm in the old country, loved his relatives, hated the Jews, and let the village priest do his thinking for him: he didn't require much. Now Ivan is working for the Steel Trust. He doesn't like the work, nor the hours, nor the pay. Neither do his shop-mates. They are talking things over in many languages. They think of striking but they know jobs are scarce and police-

man's clubs are hard. So they are waiting, but some time they will grow tired of waiting; they will strike. If enough strike and stick together, they will gain better pay and shorter hours; if only a few strike they will be forced back into the mills. All the while they will be learning the new ethics, no longer of obedience to the priest and the boss, but of rebellion and of class solidarity.

The same human instincts that in the past made them good slaves will in the near future make them good rebels.

The Catholics' charge our Socialist "Leaders" with a dark and bloody conspiracy against religion and morality. Some of the "Leaders" or of those who imagine themselves "Leaders" respond with indignant denials. It is to laugh.

The old religions and their morality are being undermined not by the propaganda of us Socialists, but by the new conditions under which the workers get their living.

Ivan's father saw no possible chance for much happiness on earth and was therefore willing to obey the priest in the hope of heaven. Ivan and his growing boys see big chances for happiness right ahead, to be won by a united fight against the capitalist class on the part of the working class. They have not yet reasoned this out, but they feel it in the air; they are growing restless.

We Socialists *have* reasoned it out, with Marx's help, and that is why we look ahead and smile.

Why Catholic Workers Should Be Socialists

The Knights of Columbus and the Catholic Church have started upon a nation-wide campaign against Socialism. We must fight back with the weapon of education. **Mary E. Marcy** has written a booklet suggested by an attack in "The Live Issue," (Catholic) on her article in the *International Socialist Review*. In it she shows why Catholic Workers Should be Socialists, and answers the Catholic arguments on wages and profits, "free love," reforms, war and patriotism, the class struggle, strikes, private property, confiscation and religious freedom.

Price 10 Cents, \$1.00 a Dozen, \$5.00 a Hundred

CHARLES H. KERR & CO., 118 WEST KINZIE STREET, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

"Popular Instinct" and the African Outrage.—It is the London Times which says in this connection: "The popular instinct is right, as it is apt to be in these matters of life and death." That the British working class has shown preference for life rather than death is beyond a doubt, and the fact that a great capitalist organ is willing to acknowledge that the prejudice in favor of life may be justified is proof enough that it must have been shown in very effective manner. The working class is never right until it has got the other fellow down.

We recorded last month how nine South African labor leaders were forcibly deported from home and country by the Union government. This happened on January 27th. They arrived in London on February 24th. The intervening period was devoted to vigorous agitation by our English comrades. The storm of protest raised in the little old island is the best proof we have had of the soundness of the English people. They have a good deal of fight left in them.

A quotation from the Clarion will show how Englishmen look at the thing: "The infamy of it! Thirteen years ago we poured out blood and treasures 'to save the British miners' we were told, 'from the oppression of Boer dominion.' Now the Boer generals with 70,000 Burghers drive unwilling Englishmen back to work at the point of the bayonet, and British soldiers, lent by the son of the great Liberal statesman, stand by to shoot down those who may dare to resist!

"If British trades unionists tamely endure this attack on their Transvaal comrades' most elementary liberties, they may expect before many days to feel the arbitrary lash of despotic brutality flaying their own backs."

News which reached England in advance of the deported men tended to fan the flame of indignation. In the first place there came a formal signed statement from the officers of the Federation of Trades and the Labor Party of South

Africa. This statement proves beyond a doubt that there was not at any time danger of a "revolution." What there was danger of was the crushing out of the South African labor unions. Since the terrible massacre of unionists last July the unions have grown by leaps and bounds. It is said that the railway union increased from 3,000 to 15,000 members within a few months. So strong has this union become that it was able to elect one of its own members on a commission which was to investigate last summer's strike. Something had to be done. Before the commission was ready to report the government discharged nearly 500 railway workers, for in South Africa the government runs the railways. This was done at a time when the railway shops were being overworked and half a million dollars worth of rolling stock had just been ordered from foreign factories. The union tried in every possible way to arrange the matter, but when a strike was threatened the union secretary was thrown into jail. The government was evidently bent on forcing a struggle before the union became stronger.

The story of the actual struggle, including the muzzling of press and speech by means of martial law, was told last month. All that needs to be added now is this official statement made by the union officials: "There is the gravest reason to believe that the crisis was deliberately sought and prepared for by the government, in order once and for all to kill the labor movement. As it has been an essentially law-abiding and constitutional movement, this could only be effected by suspending the law. It is a deliberate effort to suppress political opponents by removing the leaders and terrorizing the rank and file."

Upon the arrival of the deported labor men in England vast indignation meetings were held in various large cities. The men were entertained by the Labor members of Parliament in the banquet hall of the House of Commons. And on Sun-

day, March 1st, 100,000 English workers assembled in Hyde Park, and, speaking from different platforms, all nine of the victims of injustice spoke at once to the throngs which crowded round.

Here was announced the plan which has been formed for joining the labor forces of the British Empire in the struggle which is to ensue. English agitators are going to South Africa to help in the fight. A cable despatch announces that Tom Mann is to be among these. Whether this report is correct or not, it is certain that General Botha and his crew of governmental hooligans have stirred up such a mess as may well make them wish they were well out of it. No doubt the old Times is right when it says English workers feel that "a blow has been struck, not at trades unionism only, but at the very heart of civilized democracy."

No Compromise in France.—"We Anglo-Saxons" are always inclined to be suspicious of the French. Even those of us who are Socialists have sometimes felt that our French comrades are either too revolutionary or too much given to compromising with mere radicals. And it must be confessed that in the past there has often enough been excuse for this feeling.

But it is about time to get rid of it. The Socialist congress which met at Amiens on January 25th, was as clean and straight as anyone could desire. The main thing on the program was the problem of compromise. To form a block or not to form a block; to form election agreements with the radicals or to go it alone—these were the questions debated. And though the resolution adopted seems rather long and complex, all that it means is that the Socialists are going to fight for Socialism and not for something else. —

The political situation of France is a ticklish one. There is a strong group of genuine reactionaries, anti-republicans. After the radicals brought about the separation of church and state in 1904-05, these reactionaries got into power. They finally succeeded in passing the law raising compulsory military service to three years. This raised the annual budget several hundred million a

year. And it was on the matter that conservatism went to pieces. To raise the money the ministry had to propose new taxes. The middleclass rebelled. The radicals went into power. But the money had to be raised somehow. The radicals were forced to bring in the old finance bill with a few changes.

Here matters stand at the present time. And the parliamentary elections are at hand. Monsieur Briand, the renegade Socialist, has formed a new radical party. With the new enthusiasm for reform it was thought the Socialists might be carried off their feet and persuaded to form a block with the other parties of the Left. By doing so they could undoubtedly have a share in the next government. And they could surely head off the reactionaries. They could also aid in introducing proportional representation, a reform for which they have labored these many years. And, of course, there is the hope that they might even be able to repeal the three-years law before it has gone into effect. They could, moreover, rescue the schools from the miserable Chauvinists, who are now trying to crush the life out of the teachers.

Under these circumstances the representatives of the French party met at Amiens, **. In the discussions, which extended over several days, three groups appeared. The first group, led by Paul Hervé, fought vigorously for a block. Hervé explained that he and his friends had always been in favor of useful action rather than consistent theory. This devotion to action formerly led him to rise violently against the government; now it led him to desire to combine with the liberal forces of the bourgeoisie and work for reforms within the government. There is something extremely illuminating about this declaration. Direct action and political compromise are both directed toward getting "something now." The second group, also small, was led by the Guesdists. Comrade Guesde himself was kept away from the congress by illness, but he was ably represented. This group opposed voting for any but Socialists even on the second ballot. The third group, including the great majority of the delegates, favored a straight Social-

ist propaganda, opposed the formation of a block, and favored voting for the best radicals available in cases where the Socialists have no candidate running in the second election.

The resolution embodying the views of this third group was finally adopted unanimously. A few quotations from it will show where the congress stood. "It is necessary that the Socialist Party appear with a policy which is clear and unmistakably Socialist, established on the basis laid down at the International Congress of Amsterdam. . . . The Party declares definitely against the re-establishment of a block, which could do nothing but weaken its character and its doctrine and reduce its vigor as a fighting force." The resolution goes on from this point to explain that Socialists are definitely in favor of anti-militarism, free schools, tax reform, electoral reform, etc., but that it favors these not so much for their own sakes as because they make for the realization of the Socialist ideal. The opinion is expressed, moreover, that even these reforms will be most helped, not by confusing compromises, but by a clear drawing of lines between issues and parties. The resolution then continues: "In the first election the Party will have in each district a candidate representing its propaganda and its doctrine in its entirety. In the second election it will lend all its force to those who may be depended upon to check the militarist reaction. Not recognizing any obligation except to the proletariat and the Socialist cause, but not separating this cause from that of the republic, of peace, and of the separation of church and state, whenever it sees no prospect of a direct victory, it will give its help to the candidates of other parties in proportion to the vigor and the clearness with which they have opposed the three-year law, militarism, chauvinism, and the coalition of church and state." The remainder of the resolution outlines the machinery whereby the will of the congress is to be put into effect.

This may sound like a feeble conclusion. But anyone who reads the discussion which preceded the adoption of the

resolution will not so regard it. Many speakers made it clear that to them the election is in the main an opportunity to make converts. And all spoke vigorously in favor of proportional representation, which, of course, would put an end to this business of a second election. And there is to be no bargaining; the Socialists are to vote for Radicals in the second election only when they have no chance themselves.

The Labor Party Congress.—The annual Congress of the English Labor Party met at Glasgow on January 27th. Nothing noteworthy occurred there except a demonstration against the atrocities in South Africa. This incident served to raise this congress above the usual Labor Party level. Socialist observers reported a general improvement. They say there was more freedom from bureaucratic control than has been noticeable heretofore. This freedom did not, however, take form in any astonishing action which can be reported to those who were not present.

HA! HA! SAY WE

No other magazine in America had as much written about it in the newspapers last month as did

THE MASSES

which is an impudent, frank, arrogant, entirely free revolutionary monthly, containing the most remarkable illustrations being published anywhere.

Yes, the newspapers printed yards about the Associated Press "criminal libel" suit against Editor Eastman and Cartoonist Art Young and lots of brickbats and some orchids were hurled at the audacious Masses.

Did you notice that 2,000 people packed Cooper Union, New York, March 5th, pledging support to the Masses' fight for free press? Wonderful demonstration!

By the way, do **YOU** get the Masses?

"No? Then send a dollar quick for a year's subscription! You buy 12 "surprise packages." Big stuff in April and May numbers.

Now send \$1.00.

THE MASSES

91 Greenwich Avenue
New York City

NEWS AND VIEWS



Have You Seen This Boy?—Louis Venger of Uniontown, Pa., left home two months ago. His parents are anxious to know where he is and what he is doing; will send money and clothes and will not come after him or interfere with him in any way. Help the boy get into communication with his family again. Show him this notice or send any news of him to I. Venger, General Delivery, Uniontown, Pa.

way. Help the boy get into communication with his family again. Show him this notice or send any news of him to I. Venger, General Delivery, Uniontown, Pa.

A Fine Start on a Socialist Library.—Comrade Hurn of New Castle, Pa., rounded up a bunch of yearly readers for the Fighting Magazine. As a result we sent him \$9.50 worth of our standard cloth bound Socialist books by express free of charge by way of premium. This shows what a live comrade can do.

On the Job in Alaska.—Enclosed find money order for the amount of \$10.75. Five dollars is for the renewal of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW and \$5.75 for the twelve volumes of the Encyclopedia. With best wishes, I remain, Fraternally, Ulrich Grill, financial secretary of Local Gold Road Socialist Party, Oatman, Arizona.

I Hope the Review will never change its attitude of "dead-earnestness." It is so strong and so true, something hopeful to those who are almost ready to despair in this long long struggle. Mary Marcy is doing her part as well as Mother Jones only in a different act and a different scene.—May Wright, Everett.

From a Reader.—I am always glad to receive the REVIEW and anxious for the next, because it helps one to keep posted on present labor battles.—W. H. Calvert.

The Miners "Back" the Fighting Magazine.—Wallace, Idaho—Forward me 20 more copies of the March number of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW for it awakens the thinking machine that has lain dormant so long. Yours for an increase in circulation of the live-wire.—Sam Kilburn.

Westward Ho!—Comrade H. A. Hedden, one of the active old guards of Michigan, has started to walk to Aberdeen, Wash. He will pass through Indiana, Illinois, Nebraska and will follow along the Northern Pacific Railway. He certainly knows how to round up new readers for Socialist papers and has already sent in a good big bunch of scalps to the Fighting Magazine.

From the Reds.—The following REVIEW readers have rounded up ten or more new subs during the past TWENTY days. You can do the same! The entire February edition SOLD OUT, this is "going some"! We have some BIG PLANS for the REVIEW, which can be carried out if you rebels will get busy on the circulation end. Let us make our working class magazine bigger and better than the whole bunch of capitalist monthlies. What do you say? If your flag is the RED flag then show your colors by boosting the circulation of the FIGHTING MAGAZINE.

Burns, Wilkes Barre, Pa.	48
Carpenter, Charlestown, Mass.	25
Wilson, Schnectady, N. Y.	15
London, Glen Ellen, Calif.	10
Porter, Glen Rose, Texas	10
Gerber, St. Joseph, Mo.	10
Johnsen, Port Angeles, Wash.	10
Dake, Schnectady, N. Y.	15
Zigler, Winnington, Alta.	10
Olson, Twin Falls, Ida.	10
Studar, Kellogg, Idaho	11
Achmidt, Pittsburgh, Pa.	10
Howerton, Paris, Ill.	15
Stowe, Philadelphia, Pa.	10
Huff, Easton, Pa.	10
Williams, Malden, Mass.	15
Tressler, Toledo, Ohio	16
Richard, Oxford, Ohio	10
Reynolds, Frisco, Texas	10
Stetter, Marietta, Ohio	10
Sinclair, Arlington, Wash.	10
Engman, Deer Wood, Minn.	10
Aurouze, Uniontown, Pa.	10
Cothrua, Hiteman, Iowa	11
Seeds, Covington, Ky.	10
Hodges, Flagstaff, Ariz.	10
Taylor, Dawson, Minn.	10
Schrling, Caldwell, Kans.	10
McKenzie, Columbus, Ohio	10
Snyder, Toledo, Ohio	10
Hoffman, Providence, R. I.	10
Daugherty, Lehigh, Okla.	10
Clinton, Bisbee, Ariz.	15
Parsons, Maricopa, Calif.	10
Local, St. Marys, Ohio	10
Robertson, Bloomington, Ind.	10
Carbley, Pittsburgh, Pa.	10
Hurn, Aberdeen, S. D.	10
Powell, Veedersburg, Ind.	10
Higgins, St. Louis, Mo.	10
Schall, Kelley, Pa.	10
Hutton, Toledo, Ohio	10
Welty, Mishawaka, Ind.	10
Platt, Burlington, N. C.	10
Craig, Grafton, W. Va.	10
Smith, Agatha, Idaho	10

Want a Weekly Review.—Comrade Marston, of Washington, writes: "The February REVIEW is a humdinger. Let us boost for a weekly REVIEW or at least, a bi-monthly. Thirty days is too long to wait for next issue."

Started the Newspaper.—Comrade Gregory of Mt. Carmel has been getting his friends interested in the REVIEW until he has promises from twenty-five to buy copies every month from the newsdealer. Result: An order from newsdealer ordering 25 copies. You can do the same if you interest your friends and every REVIEW seen on the news stands means a boost for socialism.

Likes Canadian Wealth.—Comrade Porter of Hansboro, N. D., writes: The Canadian book is ridiculously cheap. Historically and scientifically it is the only thing of its kind and best of all, there is no extravagance or hysteria. Meyers shows that the best indictment of capitalism is its own record.

The Tailor.—The Tailor's International Industrial Union publishes its official organ in Bloomington, Ill., and we are delighted to find in its pages a breadth of view, an understanding of the labor movement and the evolution of modern industry that we have rarely seen. They are industrialists to the core and their work is bound to grow. This new union was formerly the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, organized in 1883. At the first of this year it was changed to the Tailors' Industrial Union, and with the change of name they also extended their jurisdiction to include all the workers in the clothing trade. General Secretary Brais writes us from Bloomington that "We are endeavoring to work out an amalgamation of all the clothing trades organizations. Of course, it will take some time before this can be accomplished." Congratulations to all the boys. This is the most encouraging news we have had for some time.

From a Kansas Reader.—"Please send me five numbers of the February REVIEW. I thought when I subscribed by the year I would do away with the bundle plan, but the last issue is irresistible—though that is what they all are. Think there are a couple of new subscribers I can get in the near future."—Mrs. R. G. Bullard.

Louisville, Ky.—"Enclosed find check to pay for February REVIEWS already received. The REVIEW is getting better with each issue and I wish every member of the S. P. in the U. S. was reading it. The foreign news, together with the class struggle in this country, is the material needed to arouse a world-wide revolt against a world-wide condition in social exploitation.

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¶ The following are a few of the more important articles appearing in the APRIL number of the

NEW REVIEW

"Limits of Reform Under Capitalism"

Prof. Arthur W. Calhoun

"The Present State of French Syndicalism"

Paul Louis (Paris)

"The Unemployed in San Francisco"

J. Edward Morgan

"Canadian vs. American Methods of Primitive Accumulation"

Gustavus Myers

"Roosevelt's Autobiography"

Wm. English Walling

"Bergsonism and Practical Idealism"

Charles B. Mitchell

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The NEW REVIEW

150 Nassau Street

New York City

Platform of Rock Island County.—The following platform is so clean cut and revolutionary that we want to give all REVIEW readers a chance to read it. Cut this out and use it for future reference:

We, the Socialist Party of Rock Island county, in convention assembled, affirm our allegiance to the principles and program of the Revolutionary Working Class, as set forth by the Socialist Party of the United States and by the International Socialist Movement.

Labor produces all wealth. But the means of wealth production—the land, the mines, mills and factories, the railroads, stores, etc.—are owned by the capitalist class. This ownership gives to the capitalist class the control of labor and of labor's product. The capitalist is, therefore, a master, the worker a slave.

The capitalists receive an ever swelling stream of profits, and the workers an ever increasing measure of misery and degradation.

It is to the interest of the working class to set itself free from capitalist exploitation by the abolition of the wage system, under which is concealed the robbery of the workers at the point of production on the job. To do this requires that they change capitalist property in the means of wealth production into collective working class property.

It is to the interest of the capitalist class to maintain the present system of exploitation of labor at the point of production—on the job.

This clash of interests brings about an irrepressible conflict between the capitalist class and the working class at the point of production—(on the job).

This conflict on the job—at the point of production, results in boycotts and strikes, in blacklists and lockouts which involve all classes in society and all social institutions—governmental, religious and educational.

Finally, this conflict grows into a struggle for the control of the state. The capitalist class is, at present, in control of all institutions of society, including the state, which they use to protect and to defend their property rights in the means of wealth production, and their control of the working class and the products of labor.

Therefore, we call upon all workers to organize under the banner of the Socialist party for the purpose of capturing all public powers in order to set up and enforce the economic program of the working class, as follows:

First. The changing, as speedily as possible, of capitalist property in the means of production—such as land, mines, mills and factories, railroads, stores, etc.—into the collective property of the working class.

Second. The democratic organization and management of industry by the workers.

Third. The establishment, as speedily as possible, of production for use instead of for profit.

The full realization of the above program requires at least nation-wide organization of the working class, and probably international co-operation of the workers. But local organiza-



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tions may deal with local questions and at the same time be a vital part of the national and international party.

We appeal to the workers of this county to join us in this great work and aid us in making the workers of Rock Island county a power for working class advancement.

There is much to be done. Among other things, we wish to call your especial attention to the fact that the education of the children of the workers is in the hands of those interested in their exploitation. As a result they have daily drilled into their tender minds, false ideas of history, false notions of economics, and false standards of patriotism. Therefore it is of the utmost importance that workingmen and workingwomen be selected as members of Boards of Education.

The sheriff is the most important executive in the county. The sheriff is the principal peace officer, and in time of "labor troubles," he and the deputies selected by him have military powers exceeded only by the state militia and the United States army. Therefore, it is the duty of the workers to elect as sheriff, a class conscious workingman.

Further, the workers should select members of their own class to every county and municipal office; by so doing they learn to administer public affairs, and strengthen their working class organization.

Workers of Rock Island county, as a part of the "Workers of the World," the future welfare of humanity rests in your hands! You the workers, must undertake the saving of society from the utter ruin to which capitalism is hurrying it.


The Socialist party exists only to be used by you in this all-important task. We submit this platform for your careful study. If, in your judgment, its principles are sound; if you think its aims are in your interest, we ask you to support it by supporting Socialist candidates and affiliating with the party as dues paying members.—S. P. Platform, Rock Island county, Ill. J. C. Gibson, Edgar Owens, M. L. Morrill, Committee on Platform.

Congratulations to our friends in Rock Island county! This platform shows that they understand the class struggle and just what action will benefit the working class!

Faithful Comrade and Friend—Our faithful fellow worker and comrade, Thomas Williams, has, after a long and painful illness, died, and Whereas, For the past 30 years his heart and energy had been devoted to the welfare of our toiling brothers in shop and factory, and Whereas, For this loyal devotion, his only compensation was the blacklist, social ostracism and poverty, Be it Resolved, That we offer these resolutions as a slight token of the love we bore for him, and that we hereby extend our sympathy to his bereaved family and friends, and Be it Further Resolved, That we charge capitalism, its greed and heartlessness with his premature death, and hereby pledge our renewed hostility to our present industrial system.—Local Youngstown Socialist Party, Ohio, per Camille Midney, Joseph Coope, Frank Field, Committee on Resolutions.

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"Do you have for sale bound volumes of the REVIEW? I have read all the old numbers, but would prefer them bound. I could use my old copies as sample copies, but I want to be sure of securing bound volumes before I loan my old numbers.

"Thanking you again, and wishing you a very prosperous future in the fight for the emancipation, I am, John A. Wright."

Little Rock, Arkansas.—"I would not miss a single copy of the REVIEW and have a complete file since 1907. Each issue brings news from the front and impresses a more orderly picture of the class struggle on my mind. They are easily worth \$1.00 each to me."—E. C. Neal.

Sounds Good to Us.—Comrade Cothron of Hiteman, Iowa, in sending in ten new subscriptions says, "Excuse paper being soiled. Have circulated it in coal mine."

A Minnesota Miner.—I am sending you 18 new subscribers. These men are all miners and I am a hoister at the mine. The workers are certainly waking up! Excuse my pencil writing, as my knees answer as a desk. Wishing the REVIEW a better run this year than last, I am, Yours for the Good of the Cause, J. F.

The February Review is to hand and is being eagerly read. It has such a big circulation around the neighbors that I am afraid that it will become worn out before it gets around. I wish I could send you another subscription or two, but dollars in these woods are as scarce as hens' teeth. Keep it Red. I wish all our Socialist literature was as revolutionary. We would have more rebels and fewer Wish-Wash Socialists in the party. With best wishes, Yours for the Revolution, Hayes, Arkansas.

Anti-Catholic Paper owned by a Socialist. The *Crusader* is a new and virile weekly paper published at Iola, Kansas, managed by J. H. Bard and Father Jones, both Socialists. The subscription rate is only 25 cents a year and for clubs of five or more only 10 cents. The *Crusader* is showing up the attitude of the Catholic Church in the labor struggles taking place all over the world and the reactionary attitude of the church toward all scientific and educational institutions. It is keeping in close touch with what the church itself has to say about these things. Get five names in your local and send in 50 cents to the *Crusader* for five subscriptions. This paper will supplement your other periodicals and keep you informed on the way the Catholic Church is fighting against the Cause of Education and the Cause of Labor.

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The Western Comrade has been enlarged in size and a larger type is being used. **Charles Tracy**, The **Western Comrade** artist, is at work on cover designs that will be powerful and appealing.

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Books Received

Darkness and Dawn.—Here, at last, George Allan, England, the author, has produced something new under the sun. The plot in his new book is the most original we have ever read. A terrible cataclysm splits the old world in twain and the gases thrown off have destroyed the human race. Mr. England's hero and heroine escape by being in the highest building in the world. Through some unexplained cause they sleep for over 1,000 years. When they awake to resume the routine of living again, they find New York City in ruins and fifth avenue and Broadway a veritable forest.

During the long period succeeding the cataclysm, Nature has been busy at work evolving a new race of human beings. Beatrice and Allan are pursued and almost killed by a horde of animals that resemble the missing link better than anything we have met in fact or fiction. They are a step above the ape and almost human. Other adventures led them to discover the descendants of a few of the whites who had escaped the catastrophe over a thousand years before. A changed environment has changed the actual physical characteristics of the descendants of the ancient survivors. The book is a whirlwind of a story, full of new adventures in every chapter but its chief value lies in the scientific facts brought out. We see the lower forms climbing upward toward man and we see how changed environment has sent man on the down grade toward the savage and lower forms.

Few people will dare to call it a story in anthropology, but that is surely what it is. And you will not find a dull page in it. Buy copies for the young folks and then get them interested in Darwin, Huxley and Wallace. Every normal boy and girl will find the study of changed characteristics under changing environment a most fascinating one. Published by Small, Maynard & Company, 15 Beacon street, Boston, Mass. \$1.35 net.

Unpopular Government in the United States.—By Albert M. Kales. University of Chicago Press, Chicago. \$1.50 net. A concise, scientific study of the invisible government of political bosses, in league with financiers, which actually chooses most of the elected officials in the United States. The author's theory is that this state of things is mainly due to the excessive number of officers elected, which makes it impossible for the voter to

know the men for whom he is voting. He points out that the "recall" may be used quite as readily by the political boss as against the boss. His remedy is the "short ballot." He admits, however, that any reforms in the direction of real democracy will probably be resisted by the propertied classes, and on the whole he gives the impression of stating problems that can not be solved—not while capitalism lasts.

Boycotts and the Labor Struggle.—By Harry Laidler. John Lane Company, New York. \$2.00 net. The boycott has been employed since the dawn of history, but at the present time its use for the advancement of labor is prohibited by law or court decisions practically throughout the United States. The blacklist, a special form of boycott useful to employers, is universally condemned, but it is freely resorted to everywhere as a means of beating employes into submission. Unless the boycott is soon made one of the legal and regular weapons of the working class, the workers will resort more and more either to sabotage or independent political action.

These are some of the conclusions reached by Comrade Harry Laidler in his book, *Boycotts and the Labor Struggle*. This volume, the first one on the subject, is a mine of information to those who are interested in the conditions faced by the American worker at the present time. The author writes dispassionately and with all the accuracy of the trained investigator. But just this fact makes his array of historic documents and digests appallingly effective. One sees as he reads how, since Judge Taft's first anti-boycott decision in 1893, the whole machinery of the law has been employed to rob the laborer of this ancient weapon. If there is any proletarian extant who does not believe that the government is run for the benefit of the employing class, a single reading of this book will be sufficient to convince him.

Propagandists who wish to get their facts straight cannot do better than consult this book. They will find there short but accurate accounts of such cases as those of the Bucks Stove & Range Company, the Danbury Hatters, the Butterick Company, etc. The history of the attitude of the American Federation of Labor toward the boycott is given in detail. And, finally, there is a summary and digest of decisions in boycott and allied cases.

Two conclusions reached by the author raise serious doubts as to whether the boycott will continue to be an effective weapon. The author holds that it can seldom be used to good purpose against a company dealing in such basic products as coal or steel. He shows, moreover, that it cannot be successful against a concern holding a monopoly of its field. Since it is apparent that commerce and manufacturing will more and more be dominated by monopolies, it would seem that the usefulness of this weapon is sure to diminish in proportion to the development of industry.

The Glebe.—A monthly journal devoting each number to the productions of a single individual. We have seen two copies only of this charming magazine. The one for September, 1913, which was given up to some very strong verses by Adolpf Wolff, and the last issue which contained a comedy entitled *Love of One's Neighbor*, by Leonid Andreyev. Both of these copies of the *Glebe* are distinctly worth while. Mr. Wolff's poems are filled with a fine spirit of rebellion that gives them especial value and Mr. Andreyev's Comedy is a delightful surprise. It is a sketch of a man who has fallen from one of the Alpine peaks onto a lesser elevation, from whence it is impossible to effect his rescue. Below the tourists struggle with each other for points

of vantage from which to view the anticipated fall of the unfortunate man. Women quarrel for rocks on which to sit, where they may enjoy the view. Photographers flock about taking snapshots at the doomed man. A matron, ecstatic at the prospect of witnessing the tragedy, bewails the fact that her husband will not leave the tavern on the hills to secure a place of vantage. Beer vendors emerge from the bar disposing of their wares and the throng makes itself comfortable and proceeds to lunch in picnic fashion in order not to miss the denouement. A special newspaper correspondent arrives for a special story for his paper. A priest arrives to render absolution. When the last possible word has been said to show how much the crowd is enjoying the event, the man on the peak shatters their fond expectations with a yelling declaration that he will not remain on the peak any longer for \$10.00. It appears that the tavern keeper, eager to please the tourists and stimulate trade at his bar, has done both through the employment of a young man to play the part of the Doomed Climber. The *Glebe* is published at Ridgefield, N. J., at \$3.50 a year. We may look to it and *The Masses* to break the ground in new and advanced fields of literature.



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To Our Present and Future Stockholders

New Postal Rates.—On March 16th the postal rates on books, which for many years have been uniformly a cent for each two ounces, eight cents a pound, regardless of distance, were changed to the zone rates, based on distance, which apply to other commodities. Formerly it cost 88 cents to mail eleven pounds of books from Chicago to Milwaukee; now it costs only 15 cents. On the other hand, we could formerly mail a book weighing a pound and two ounces from Chicago to San Francisco for 9 cents; now it costs 24 cents.

New Express Rates.—The scale of express rates established by the Interstate Commerce Commission Feb. 1st is very much lower than the former scale, especially on small packages, and for long distances is much lower than postage. Moreover, each express package is automatically insured, while to insure a parcel post package requires not only a five-cent fee but the sending of a special messenger to the postoffice, which involves much extra labor and expense. We therefore advise our stockholders to have all orders amounting to a dollar or more filled by express.

New Discounts.—Hereafter we will allow all stockholders to buy our books at HALF the retail prices, no matter how small the order, but we will not prepay the expressage. This will not in any case cost MORE than eight cents a pound, the former postal rate, on packages weighing two pounds or more, and in most cases it will be a great deal less. The new express rates are based on distance, and they are exactly as low when paid on receipt of the books as if we prepaid the charges; this is another change from the former system. As a rule, the weight of each book listed by us at the retail price of 50c is about half a pound, a dollar book one pound, etc. To illustrate how express rates are now figured, we give below the rate on two, five, ten and thirty pounds of books from Chicago to a few cities at

different distances. Remember that rates are strictly proportioned to distance.

City	2 lbs.	5 lbs.	10 lbs.	30 lbs.
Milwaukee	\$0.16	\$0.23	\$0.25	\$0.41
Cleveland .....	.16	.26	.32	.56
Kansas City .....	.16	.29	.39	.77
New York .....	.16	.31	.42	.86
Denver .....	.16	.40	.60	1.40
San Francisco....	.16	.40	.80	2.40

There will thus be a considerable saving to our stockholders in buying at 50 per cent discount and paying expressage, instead of, as formerly, buying at 40 per cent, we paying the expressage. We will, however, continue the former scale for those who prefer it, especially on very small orders. We will, moreover, continue our former offer of 50 per cent discount, we prepaying charges, on orders from the United States and all foreign countries, but we are obliged to cut off this offer in the case of stockholders in Alaska, Hawaii, the Canal Zone, and other United States colonies, to which we shall hereafter have to pay postage at the rate of 12c a pound, while express rates are still higher.

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books are specified, we send under this offer a full set of Marx in nine cloth-bound volumes. Catalog and particulars free on request.

Review Bundle Orders.—On bundles of the REVIEW mailed within the United States we make the cash price of five cents a copy, provided 20 or more are paid for at once. The United States government carries magazines in freight cars, so that the time in transit is often several days longer than for express packages. To points less than 1,000 miles from Chicago, we can send a bundle of 40 or more REVIEWS by express, charges prepaid, at the same price as if sent by mail, but we can not send smaller packages or to greater distances by express without extra charge.

THE HIGH COST OF LIVING

"Karl Kautsky is, among other things, editor of one of the most influential newspapers in the world, and a Socialist, but he is, before all else, a German scholar of the old school, who will comb the whole face of the earth and all history for his facts, and having gotten them, will think his way around each one, and finally chain all together into a theory that honest ignorance cannot ignore and dishonest ignorance cannot resist. It was inevitable that someone of this type should finally attack the problem of the high cost of living and demolish the snap-judgments with which politicians and editors are fond of entertaining the populace.

"The fact which Mr. Kautsky uses as the basis of his argument in 'The High Cost of Living' (Kerr & Company) was not difficult to find. Dutiful political economists have been trying to explain it away for 10 years. Prof. MacLaughlin of Chicago has perverted the whole theory of currency and exchange in order to get rid of it. It is the tremendous increase in gold production. The world's output of gold in 1840 was 20,000 kilograms; it increased gradually until in 1896 it was 300,000 kilograms. from that it shot up to 700,000 in 1911.

"The result of this increased gold supply was an increased demand for other goods. The new demand caused higher prices. All people receiving fixed or comparatively fixed incomes suffered as a result. Those dependent on wages, salaries or interest from invested capital were hardest hit. The flood of gold could not be shut off, and the only recourse of those whose buying power was thus cut down was to live on less than they were accustomed to or try to increase their money income. The laboring classes have adopted a combination of the two alternatives. They live more cheaply than they did and they strike for higher wages at every opportunity."

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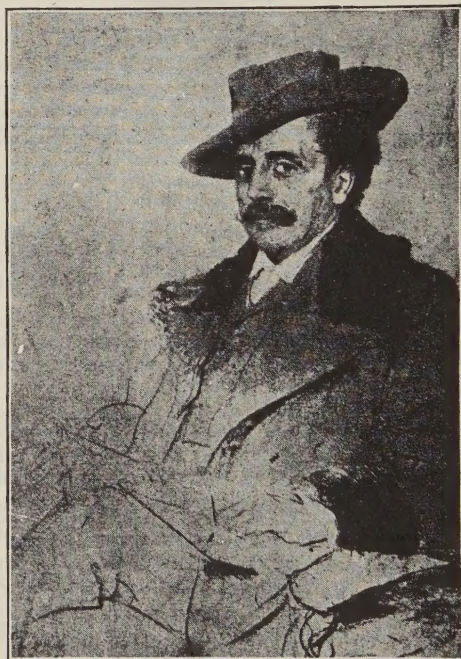
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